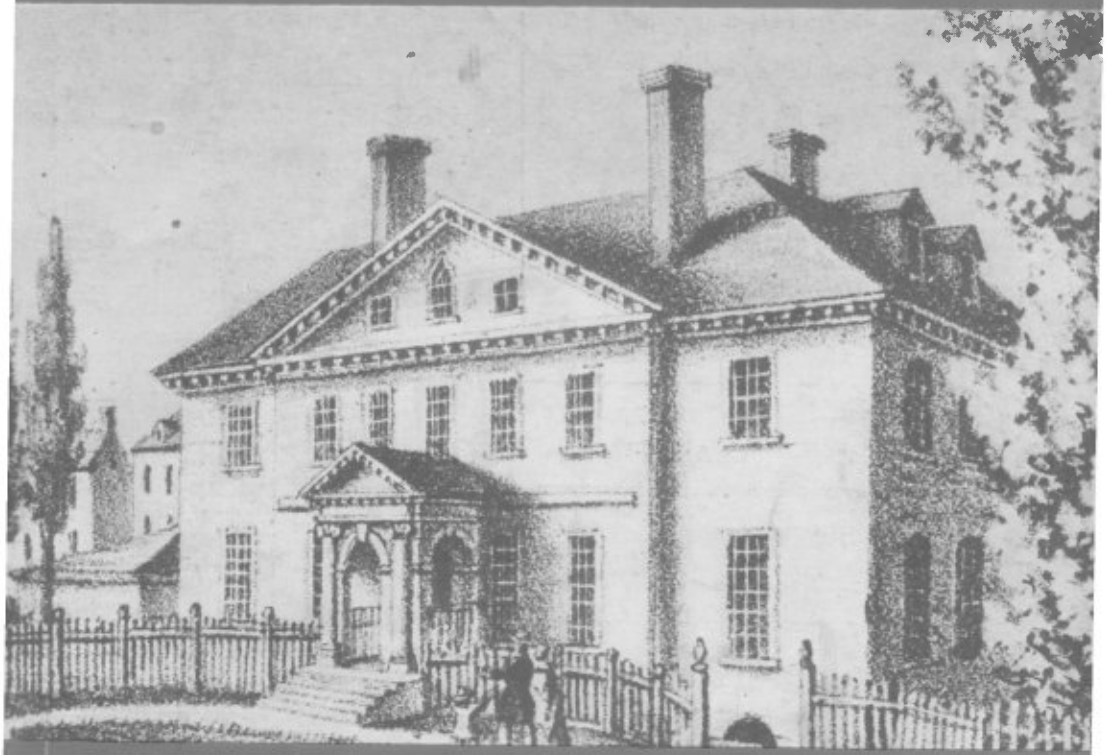
MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



Government House, Annapolis — Front View.
Home of Maryland's Governors, 1753-1869.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

September · 1950

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLV SEPTEMBER, 1950 Number 3

PORTRAIT OF A COLONIAL GOVERNOR: ROBERT EDEN

I—HIS ENTRANCE

By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

ON a pleasant June day in 1769 young Captain Robert Eden, his wife and two baby boys [1] with a retinue of domestics were rowed ashore from the merchant ship *Lord Baltimore* at anchor off the mouth of the Severn River. Bursts of gunfire from the ship and from the battery on shore greeted the new governor of Maryland. The Annapolis dock was thronged with the citizenry of one of the most affluent cities in the American colonies as the crowd parted to let through the splendid gentlemen of the Council who wished to be the first to welcome their new Proprietary representative.

Nearly a year had passed since Governor Sharpe had received a

[1] Frederick Morton Eden (1776-1809) and William Thomas Eden (1768-1851).

courteous letter from Lord Baltimore's secretary, Hugh Hamersley, declaring that only a most brotherly affection and congeniality for Captain Eden would have caused Lord Baltimore to remove so trusted and faithful a public servant as Colonel Sharpe.[2] The bluff old soldier received his orders philosophically, replying that "Whenever he arrives I shall receive him cordially—as an officer, a man of Honour, and the Brother of one to whom I am under great obligations. I flatter myself that I will not be less respected or esteemed when I become a private person and that I shall be happy in cultivating my Garden."[3] He, too, was on hand to greet his successor and to offer the hospitality of Whitehall, his beloved estate on the opposite shore of the river. However, since February the Edens had owned the handsome mansion, previously rented by Sharpe for the Governor's town house. They had bought it from the builder, Edmund Jennings, a former Secretary of the Colony, and long domiciled in London. The sum of £1000 had been paid for "The mansion, gardens, yards, coach house, stables, out houses, hereditaments and premises,"[4] overlooking the juncture of the Severn and Spa Creek, which forms Annapolis harbor. Into their still unfinished home went the Edens to rest from their long voyage.

Robert Eden's interest in Maryland had begun with his marriage to Caroline Calvert, daughter of Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore, and Mary, daughter of Sir Theodore Janssen. Her dissolute brother Frederick, the 6th Lord, was interested in his Province only for the income it produced for him to squander, and as a haven for the friends on whom he chose to lavish his patronage. Most of his time was spent on the continent and the hardships of travel to America did not appeal to him. In selecting his brother-in-law as Governor his own interests would be served and at the same time the Edens would be handsomely provided for. Worn out morally and physically, Frederick was pleased at this solution of advancing the attractive young husband of his favorite sister and of ridding himself of much anxiety in connection with the governing of Maryland.

Although Robert Eden received his appointment as the result of

[2] Hammersley to Sharpe, London, July 20, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 256.

[3] Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, Annapolis, 21 Oct. 1768, *ibid.*, XIV, 550.

[4] Provincial Court Deed, 1769, D. D. # 2 f 582, Land Office, Annapolis. This estate was purchased in 1866 for the U. S. Naval Academy. The house was torn down in 1901.

his marriage, he nevertheless, possessed some qualifications that fitted him for a post of responsibility. The Edens came from County Durham where they had been a family of some prominence since the 14th century. In 1672 an Eden was created Baronet of West Auckland as a belated reward for his grandfather's services to King Charles I. Sir Robert, the 3rd Baronet, had died young leaving his widow with eleven children, the eldest only 15 years old.[5] A good mother and a strong character, Lady Eden lived to see five sons grow to prominence and a daughter married to the Archbishop of Canterbury. John, the oldest son, succeeded to the West Auckland title; Robert, the Governor, became 1st Baronet of Maryland; William, secretary to Pitt and Under Secretary of State, was made the first Baron Auckland; Capt. Thomas plied his ship between Maryland and England in the tobacco trade and founded the mercantile firm of T. Eden & Co.; Morton, a diplomat, became Baron Henley. The Eden brothers had a gift for politics and a friend in William Pitt. The great Minister's unrequited love for Eleanor, William Eden's daughter, drove him to permanent bachelorhood but he held his interest for the family. There was also a clannish bond between the brothers whether their politics were in agreement or not. Incidentally, these Edens were not, as far as is known, related to Charles Eden, Governor of North Carolina from 1714 to 1722, the friend of pirates, and the man for whom Edenton was named.

Robert Eden had a good classical education before he decided on the army as a career. He was first commissioned Lieutenant Fireworker in the Royal Artillery in 1757 when only 16 years old, but transferred to the Cold Stream Guards as an Ensign the following year.[6] With the Guards the young officer received his baptism of fire in Germany during the Seven Years War when the genius of the team of Pitt and Frederick the Great began to make itself felt. Eden was married at St. Georges, Hanover Square, in 1765 and did not resign from the army until 3 years later when Lord Baltimore offered him the governorship of Maryland . For eleven years he had been a soldier and now his ability

[5] Mary, youngest daughter of William Davison of Beamish, Co. Durham. See, Rev. Robert A. Eden to Bernard C. Steiner, June 7, 1895, Maryland Historical Society.

[6] Rev. Robert Allan Eden, *Some Historical Notes on the Eden Family* (London, 1907), p. 34. *The Dictionary of National Biography* lists 10 members of this family.

to take orders as well as to command was to stand him in good stead.

The day after his arrival in Annapolis Eden went to the Council chamber to take the oath as Governor and Chancellor. There he studied the faces of the men around him, men who were to be his intimate friends and advisors for the next seven years: Benedict Calvert, his wife's half-brother; Col. William Fitzhugh of "Rousby Hall," a former Virginian; Daniel and Walter Dulany, sons of the greatest legal talent in the colonies and former Secretary of Maryland; John Beale Bordley, a brilliant and versatile man; Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer; John Ridout and Richard Lee. The local governing body consisted of two branches, the upper composed of ten men hand-picked by Lord Baltimore on the recommendation of the governor; and, the lower or elected Assembly. The Council had long been controlled by the Dulanys and their relatives with the assistance of any of the Calvert family who happened to be in Maryland. They had intermarried to the extent of forming a bloc. Nepotism flourished as succeeding generations of Dulanys, Taskers, Bladens and Ogles dealt themselves all the lucrative positions under the Proprietor. John Ridout, who had exerted great influence as Sharpe's secretary, had married Governor Ogle's daughter and was now a member of the Council in his own right. Caroline Eden was a niece of old Governor Bladen's wife and thus was a cousin of the Ogles, Taskers and Dulanys who formed the "Court Circle." Dr. Upton Scott, clerk of the Council and holder of other remunerative positions, had come to America first to fight with Wolfe at Quebec and then to follow his companion in arms, Col. Sharpe, to Annapolis as his personal physician. He had married a Miss Ross, whose father on retiring from the important duties of clerk of the Council had been able to secure the same position for his son-in-law. These were the men Sharpe had recommended so highly to his Lordship as being in his opinion "gentlemen of Integrity and well attached to your Lordship's government and as well qualified as any I know to administer Justice." [7]

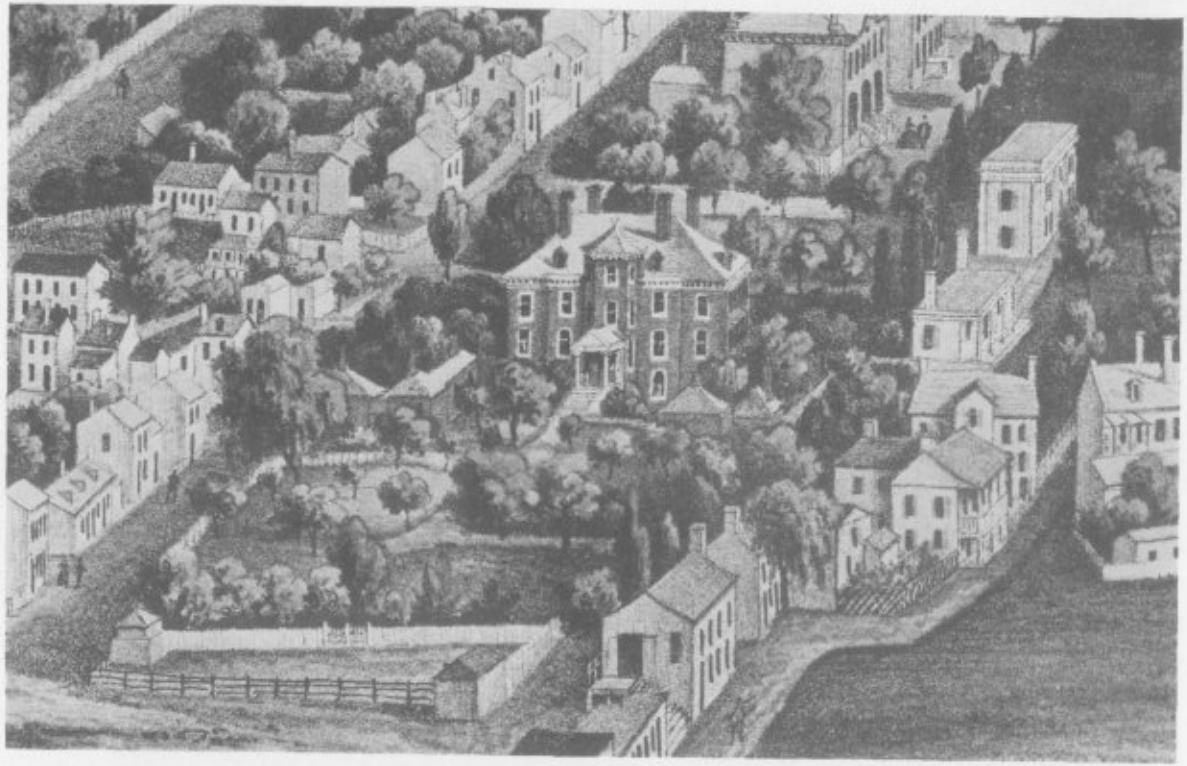
The Governor of Maryland had no easy task to perform. At a critical time when the authority of the British government was being questioned he represented both the Crown and the Lord

[7] Paul H. Giddens, "Horatio Sharpe and his Maryland Government," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXII (1937), 171.

CAPTAIN ROBERT EDEN, 1741-1784,
GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND, 1768-1776.

By Charles Willson Peale

Portrait 14 x 9¼ inches owned 1907 by Frederick Morton Eden, Esq.



View from harbor of Governor's house. Used after 1869 by the U. S. Naval Academy as a library. It was razed in 1902 to make way for the present Bancroft Hall. Detail from lithographic bird's eye view of Annapolis by E. Sachse of Baltimore, made shortly before the Civil War. The view on the cover is from the border of another Sachse lithograph of Annapolis of slightly earlier date.

Proprietary. It was his duty to call and to dissolve the Assemblies, approve or veto laws, have criminals executed or pardon them, and to install the clergy in vacant parishes. In all he possessed a more extensive patronage than most contemporary high officials in the mother country.

Eden found himself at once embroiled in the disputes of the Marylanders over the hated Townshend Acts. That summer of 1769 the stubborn natives of Anne Arundel County had drawn up and passed non-importation resolutions. All over the colonies associations were formed whose members promised neither to trade with England nor use British goods until the tax questions were settled. Brewing, also, was the vitally important issue in Maryland's internal government on the fees of office. The tax on every hogshead of tobacco exported gave Lord Baltimore a munificent personal income and provided for the local government and defence. Almost without exception the gentlemen of the Council held the important positions—some of them two or three at a time—so that they were continually at variance with the Lower House in its efforts to reduce these fees and thereby reduce the taxes. Lord Baltimore's share was £12,500 and his revenue was further augmented by the sale of land.[8] The burden of accumulated taxes had now become so great the Assembly was determined to seek some relief. With much anger on both sides, the Governor prorogued the Assembly and was, at the end of his first year, out of sympathy with the wishes of his legislature. Since the Assembly had not agreed on extending the old law as to officers' fees, he proceeded to establish the salaries of all the officers of the province by proclamation. This high-handed act set the leading men of the colony to remonstrating bitterly, but to no avail.

At the same time another contest was being carried on, hinging on the reenactment of the old laws with regard to support of the clergy. The inducting and appointing to the various parishes of the established church was one of the Governor's duties and, under the Act of 1702, every clergyman received 40 lbs. of tobacco per poll as his salary. Even the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, one of Eden's most intimate friends, admitted that few earned or deserved these large salaries. The rector of Frederick Parish was said to receive a

[8] William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), p. 125. For detailed account of the political developments of this period see Charles Albro Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (New Haven, 1940).

stipend larger than that of the Bishop of London. The Roman Cathlics and dissenting Protestants naturally objected to supporting churches in which they had no interest. The Church of England clergy, of whom there were forty-four, quite as naturally looked to the Governor as their patron and protector. For three years these controversies raged. The *Maryland Gazette,* published in Annapolis, devoted pages to the long-winded but heated letters of prominent citizens.[9]

Although William Eddis described the Governor as an early riser and a hard worker and though public affairs demanded attention, nevertheless Eden was able to devote considerable time to pure enjoyment of life.[10] First his house must be enlarged and redecorated to London standards. Wings were added and a bay on the water side increased the usefulness of the ball-room. Other alterations to the billiard room, kitchen and stables had not been completed by the winter of 1770-1. His English furniture and his many paintings gave the house an elegance not achieved by many even in a town dominated by men of wealth and taste. A portrait of Charles I, the Edens' benefactor, hung on the stair case; another of Frederick, Lord Baltimore, adorned the " Picture Parlour "; while the landscapes of that worthy's travelling companion, Francis Smith, for a while the rage of London, were interspersed with views of Dunkirk, and other cities, all in their gilt frames.[11] The terraced garden was extensive and ran almost to the river's edge, terminating in a mound from which one could see the shores of Kent Island.

Governor Sharpe, a bachelor, when not traveling on His Majesty's business in connection with his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the forces against the French and Indians, had spent much of his time at his farm across the Severn. Now for the first time in many years there was to be real leadership in the rounds of gayety and fashion that were part of the life of the well-to-do in Annapolis. Hospitality and good living were to be dispensed with lavish hand.

Since 1721 the governors of Maryland had made horse racing

[9] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 37.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[11] Inventory of Household Furniture of Sir Robert Eden, bart. 1779-1781 left in possession of his Excellency Thomas Sim Lee, Esq., Red Book # 1, Hall of Records. When the property was taken over by the Naval Academy the furniture was sold at public auction. See Ferdinand Latrobe, " Reminiscences," Baltimore *Sun*, Oct. 18, 1908.

fashionable and Robert Eden carried on this tradition. He was at once made a Steward of the Jockey Club and entered his horse "Regulus" in the Fall races. Col. Sharpe, in reducing his expenses to fit the life of a retired army colonel, had sold most of his stable and Eden bought his best known mare "Why Not" at this sale. "Badger," a grey horse, was imported by the Governor in 1770 to stand at his stud farm. "Slim" and "Cook Aglin" were acquired later. "Regulus" purchased from Benedict Calvert, while fast, had a bad trick of throwing his rider so that "Why Not" was his only consistent winner. The three mile track laid out to the west of the city drew crowds from the countryside both Spring and Fall and there were other races held during the season at the larger tracks at Marlboro, Joppa, Elk Ridge and Charles Town as well as at 16 smaller country fairs. Purses were as much as 100 guineas and competition keen when the best horses of Virginia, and, even New York, were on hand to race those of the Marylanders.[12] "They Game high, Spend freely and Dress exceedingly gay" reported one stranger who happened by at racing time.[13]

Further entertainment was provided at racing time by the theatrical stock company which traveled from city to city. A fine new theatre was finished in 1771 for which the Governor was largely responsible. He was very fond of the stage and led the list of subscribers. Shakespeare was added to a repertory of such modern plays as *The Roman Father* and *The Mayor of Garrett*.[14] A public ball room was also built about the same time and the dances held there were an added attraction for the many visitors who came to town for the "Season."

Of the several men's clubs which flourished in Annapolis at this time the "Homony" was, perhaps, the most famous. The members were chosen solely for their entertainment value and evenings were spent around the punch bowl in satiric, whimsical conversation and "ingenius humor." Everyone who was anybody wanted to be a member, commented the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, the club's first president, and so the Governor was admitted as an Honorary

[12] Date set by order of silver spoons as prizes to be made by Cesar Ghiselin, Mayor's Court, Annapolis, Sept. 6, 1721, J. Hall Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths, 1715-1830* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 52-54; Francis Barnum Culver, *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days* (Baltimore, 1922), pp. 62-71.

[13] Nicholas Creswell, *Journal, 1774-1777* (London, 1925), p. 20.

[14] David Ridgely, *Annals of Annapolis* (Baltimore, 1841), p. 149.

member. When he did not attend weekly meetings he had, like all other members, to keep in good standing by sending a written explanation of his absence. There is one of his excuses in existence in which he most humbly and at great length plead official work and poor health.[15]

Both for business and for pleasure Eden tried to know his Maryland and its inhabitants. Hardly a month passed that he was not on the road, visiting, studying farming, looking at newly developed areas, discussing politics and being charming to the ladies. He had scarcely arrived in this country when he went to Williamsburg to pay his respects to his closest official neighbor, Lord Botetourt, Governor of Virginia. The great highway of the Potomac drew the two colonies together. Lees, Fitzhughs and Masons lived on both sides of the river and the Squire of Mount Vernon was as intimate with his Maryland friends as with those in Williamsburg and the lower Virginia counties. However, in November of 1769 Washington was visiting his own capital city and thus met the new governor of Maryland, at Councillor Robert Carter's dinner, beginning a friendship which lasted for the remaining fifteen years of Eden's life.[16]

Col. Washington and the Governor had a mutual friend in the Rev. Jonathan Boucher. More of a schoolteacher than a parson, he held parishes in Virginia before bettering his position by moving to St. Anne's in Annapolis through the patronage of Eden. Among the boys in his school whom he moved to his new rectory were John Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's son, and Charles Calvert, son of Benedict Calvert of Mount Airy. Boucher was a cultivated man, a strong if tempestuous Christian leader, a man of violent likes and dislikes. He tells us that St. Anne's was called "Gradus ad Parnassum" and so he, like many of his predecessors, moved on to richer fields in Prince Georges' County, taking his school with him. St. Barnabas' rectory was one of the favorite objectives of the Governor's coach and four.[17] There too, rode Col. Washington to see his stepson and to enjoy the good company provided by his learned friend.

Very like the royal progresses were the Governor's early wander-

[15] December 26, 1771, Gilmor Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

[16] Washington Diaries ed. by John C. Fitzpatrick (4 vols., New York, 1925) I, 352, November 6, 1769. Councillor Robert Carter of Nomini Hall.

[17] Rev. Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789* (New York, 1925), p. 75. The rectory was Mt. Lubentia, then called Castle Magruder.

ings around his domain. "Rousby Hall" in Calvert County, the seat of Col. William Fitzhugh, was the scene of many happy visits. Col. Fitzhugh had his schooner bring the party from Annapolis to spend Christmas of 1770 with him. The Governor, perhaps because his wife could not accompany him, passed Christmas day at home. His family had been augmented by the birth of a daughter (Catherine) in May of that year. William Eddis, Clerk of the Loan Office, describes meeting his Excellency with a numerous party at another country estate and then proceeding to Rousby Hall where the holiday season was celebrated for three weeks. From there they then "visited most of the principal families in Calvert, St. Mary's, Charles, Prince George's and Anne Arundel Counties; and were everywhere received with the most obliging proofs of regard and attention." [18]

A few months earlier the Governor's official family had been most hospitably entertained on the Eastern Shore, where again schooner and coach carried them from plantation to plantation and where "the true American breakfast consisted of ham, venison and beef besides the usual relishing articles." Eddis was particularly impressed with Frederick County and the frontiers of the province which he and Eden visited in the summer of 1772. As far west as Hagerstown he noted the fertility of the soil and the productive orchards. This trip must have been strictly on business for there are no comments on sumptuous banquets.

The leading Maryland families in a very short time fell captive to the Governor's charm. The Council and the Council's relatives were already on terms of the greatest intimacy with him. In February, 1770, the Edens celebrated the Proprietary's birthday with a grand entertainment in the new ball-room. "Cards and dancing engaged the attention of their respective votaries till an early hour." [19] On the Edens' invitation list, but not among his happy admirers were the Carrolls, who sulking in their political and religious tents, wrote and spoke critically of their chief executive. Old Charles Carroll spent most of his time supervising his large estate "Doughoregan," thirty miles from the world of his clever son in Annapolis. Through the years they wrote almost daily letters to each other, replete with news and opinions. Trained like a prize fighter by the wise old man, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was about to enter the ring as self appointed

[18] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 27.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

defender of the liberties of the people and leader of the anti-Eden party. As Roman Catholics the Carrolls had long suffered political disabilities and personal feelings, no doubt, spiced their opinions. Charles Carroll informed his father: "The Govr. is shamefully too dissipated. Marlboro Races, Oxford Races, what time will He Have to Consider our Cause before 3rd Tuesday in this month?" [20] The bitter controversy over officers' fees, between those who received them and those who paid them, was drawing political lines ever more sharply. Charles Carroll of Carrollton as champion of the Marylanders against the non-American incumbents in office fattening on the fee system, drew the fire of the leading lawyer of his day, Daniel Dulany. For months the anonymous letters of each appeared in the *Gazette* until all secrecy was dropped in the bitterness of the argument. Eddis was right when he said, "Party prejudices have little influence on social intercourse." [21] Charles Carroll advised his son not to show his true feelings to the Governor as he must learn to get on with all kinds of people: "Act with the Governor and visit him as usual. His fickle behaviour and mean condesentation [*sic*] to the Dulanys justly lessens him in your and the esteem of everyone acquainted with their pride and insolence." [22] Yet all the time the lonely old man, isolated sometimes by twenty inches of snow, craved a half dozen of Mrs. Eden's latest London magazines, or the company of the Governor, his Lady, or Captain Eden of the Ship *Annapolis*, the Governor's brother, for a promised visit to his manor. Again on March 17, 1772, he wrote his son: "I hope your debaucle [*sic*] at the Govrs has not hurt you, I hear the company was highly entertained and diverted by an Altercation between Dr. Steuart and Major Jenifer on their Independance, as it is a subject on which the Dr. had great scope to shine." [23]

In spite of his gayety Eden had many things on his mind. He had begged for and been refused a Lt. Colonel's brevet which he desired in case of future wars and because Horatio Sharpe was a commissioned Colonel. He had been scolded by Lord Hillsborough for lack of vigor in not preventing the return of a ship with its contraband cargo, and, most serious of all, he had the

[20] May 7, 1771; "Extracts From the Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIII (1918), 257.
[21] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 92.
[22] "Extracts From Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV (1919), 361.
[23] March 11, 1772, *Ibid.*, XIV, 138.

news of Lord Baltimore's death in Naples in September of 1771. Sharpe wrote to his brother: "Gov. Eden has not as yet met with much to please or disgust him but I think, he is hardly as happy as he expected to be and that a different kind of life would be more to his taste." [24]

Before word of this unexpected death reached America, Eden had distracted himself with a Fall racing season and renewal of his acquaintance with Col. Washington, whom he was able to entertain in Annapolis. Later he visited his good friend, William Digges, at Warburton and at a signal from river bank to bank, Col. Washington was brought across in a great barge rowed by twelve Negroes. Four days the Governor, Mr. Boucher, Mr. Benedict Calvert and three Digges spent crossing and recrossing from Warburton to Mount Vernon, dining at Col. Fairfax's Belvoir and with each other.[25]

The death of his patron and brother-in-law was bad enough but much worse was the will in which it was discovered that the Province had been left to Lord Baltimore's illegitimate son, Henry Harford, at the time only fourteen years old. Robert Eden's position was precarious and his wife's fortune might vanish before their eyes. Under the will of Charles, Fifth Lord Baltimore, Caroline Eden's older sister, Louisa Browning, would become legal heir following the death of their brother Frederick, while Caroline would receive merely a large legacy. By Frederick Calvert's will Robert Eden was made an executor and guardian, and his children would inherit the Colony, lacking heirs to the two Harford children. Which will was valid and which would be of most advantage to the Edens? It was a case for the courts to settle—but first and most important must be the confirmation of his continuance in Maryland as Governor by the other guardians in England and recognition of Harford as Proprietary by the Assembly of Maryland.

"Mr. Eden of Lincoln's Inn [26] thinks my attendence in England absolutely necessary," the Governor wrote to Lord Hillsborough asking for leave of absence because of "the critical situation of my private Affairs with Regard to the Disposition made of this

[24] Horatio Sharpe to Philip Sharpe, May 27, 1771, Bernard C. Steiner, "New Light on Maryland History," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, IV (1909), 256.

[25] Washington, *Diaries*, II, 44, Dec. 9-13, 1771; Amy Cheney Clinton, "Historic Fort Washington," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1937), 235.

[26] William Eden, later Lord Auckland.

Province by Lord Baltimore's will." [27] A severe illness mentioned in two letters and lack of his majesty's leave apparently prevented his sailing in August with his wife on his brother's boat, the "*Annapolis*." Old Charles Carroll gallantly wrote his son: "Give our compliments to our Friends, especially Mrs. Eden. We wish her a pleasant and short passage, Health and all the Happiness she wishes." [28] With this voyage Caroline Eden and the three children passed from the American scene, for there is no further reference to them.

The Governor, forced to stay behind, contented himself with watching the erection of the new Stadt House, whose corner-stone he had layed the previous March, accompanied, the *Gazette* stated, by the toasts of the workmen and dire claps of thunder. Three visits that Fall brought Eden and Washington together. Their mutual friend, the Rev. Mr. Boucher, entertained them both in September. The Governor in his phaeton drove the party to church and then went calling on the countryside.[29] In October the Virginia Colonel had his five days of gay city life as the guest of the Governor. At Christmas the Washingtons returned the hospitality by meeting the party, twelve in all, at Warburton and taking them back to Mount Vernon for the festive season.

"Antilon" and "First Citizen" [30] were going for each other fire and tongs that Spring of 1773 and Charles Caroll of "Annapolis, resident at Doughoregan," longed for gossip and news of the debate: "The Govr. has a tickelish part to play. He may not see it, if Hartford's [*sic*] guardians notwithstanding his commission should be desirous of removing him. May they not make a pretense of his unpopularity and wrong step in issuing and supporting the proclamation. He has owned it as his own act. . . . I am glad you went to see the Govr. last Friday and wish you had found him at home." Later—"Our Govr. is what you say, a very silly idle dissipated man. Have you been in company with him since you left us if so, how did he behave? . . . I do not know that his smiles or intimacy have redounded to the credit of any ladies on whom he has been pleased to bestow them." [31]

[27] Robert Eden to Lord Hillsborough, Aug. 21, 1772, "Correspondence of Governor Eden," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, II (1907), 297.
[28] "Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIV, 280.
[29] Washington, *Diaries*, II, 78, Sept. 4-9, 1772.
[30] Daniel Dulany, the Younger and Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
[31] "Carroll Papers," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XV (1920), 194, 281, 369.

Eden had offered to write letters of introduction for Jacky Custis to friends in England when the Washingtons considered sending him over to complete his education. But on the advice of various men, particularly Mr. Boucher, King's College, New York, was decided upon.[32] Eden joined the travellers from Mount Vernon and accompanied them as far as Philadelphia where one of his horses was running.[33] Twice that year (1773) he was at Mount Vernon and again the Virginian was his guest in Annapolis for the Fall racing season. Would one have thought that politics in Maryland were at fever heat; that the Anti-Proclamation Party, whose mouthpiece Carroll had been, had won overwhelming victory at the polls; that the Lower House of the Assembly would in a week or two form a standing committee of correspondence and enquiry, for mutual protection of the sister colonies? Col. Washington found few subjects that could not still be agreeably debated with his friend the Governor.

During the winter of 1774 large quantities of tea were brewed in Boston harbor. William Eddis viewed "the impending storm with inexpressible inquietude."[34] By May he shouted, "All America is in a flame!" The Annapolitans had caught the contagion and joined the other colonies in a non-importation act. But Robert Eden did not feel that affairs were too serious for him to give up his long planned trip to England where his personal business called him. His sister-in-law and her husband, the John Brownings, had entered suit against Henry Harford, already proclaimed Proprietor, and his presence was imperative. There were many things to report verbally to the Colonial Office and he could assure his government that the Americans would refrain from violence if taxes were lifted. He sailed in June, leaving his province in the hands of the senior member of the Council, Richard Lee of Blenheim.

But the fire was kindled and smouldering. In unsuspecting Annapolis a confident importer tried to land a cargo of tea and the wrath of respectable citizens as well as of the mob, descended upon him. After pleading guilty and making abject apologies to his accusers, he was forced to set fire to his ship with its unwanted cargo.[35] Elections were held, delegates chosen and the first Con-

[32] Now Columbia University.
[33] Washington, *Diaries*, II, 110, May 10, 1773.
[34] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 157.
[35] Burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, Oct. 19, 1774, by her owner Anthony Stewart.

tinental Congress got under way at Philadelphia. In November, 1774, Eddis wrote: "The Governor is returned to a land of trouble. He arrived this morning in perfect health. To stem the popular torrent and to conduct his measures with consistency, will require the exertion of all his faculties." [36] His popularity with the people had not abated for crowds went to the city dock to welcome him on his return and the guns from the battery echoed to the Eastern Shore and back.[37]

Horatio Sharpe had returned to England because of a death in his family. He wrote long and often to his old friend and protegé John Ridout, for news of Annapolis and of Whitehall in particular. He was following the Harford-Browning law-suit with interest and remarked that if Eden resigned, he might return as Maryland's governor for a short time, but "Say not a word." [38] A later letter contained the opinion:

> Your observations on the governor quitting the Province with a professed declaration not to return unless a repeal of all the offensive acts should take place, are certainly most just. If he gives up the Governorship before harmony is restored there are but few men that would accept it, of which number I shall not make one. . . . Mr. Browning is the man to whom the Government of the Province will be offered and I am apt to think his circumstances are such as will induce him to accept of it, particularly if nothing turns up to encourage him in a more steady pursuit of his claim to the Province. . . . The Governor certainly judges right in leaving the Province with regard to his Brother's interest but how it will be approved of by the Ministry I know not.[39]

Col. Sharpe thought that Browning would win the suit and he also knew that Eden was striving in every way possible to make his government see that there was justice in the demands of the colonists. Sharpe had lived in Maryland so long (twenty years) that he was undoubtedly unhappy at the turn affairs were taking. If Eden was unhappy he did not show it. His buoyant nature felt that there was always hope that the storm would subside, that the Ministry would be reasonable, and that the colonists would be satisfied with some little local independence. He worked hard keeping the Colonial Office informed but he saw as much of his pleasure loving friends as ever.

[36] Eddis, *Letters*, p. 187.
[37] *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 10, 1774.
[38] Sharpe to Ridout, London, 1774, Lady Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland* (London, 1912), p. 260.
[39] May 20, 1775, *Ibid.*, p. 260.

By 1775 there were two governments in Maryland, the Proprietary vested in Eden, and, the Council of Safety. Of the two, the latter was by far the stronger. Openly now the colonies prepared for war. Conventions met, militia was organized, supplies of all kinds were gathered and everyone knew that it required very little to touch off the explosion. It came with Lexington and Concord. The Governor, writing to his brother William, told of granting the request for arms and powder but thought the powder to be twenty years old and harmless. "You need be under no uneasiness about me," he said, writing while the sound of shooting was heard in the distance, "I am well supported and not obnoxious to any unless it be to some of our infernal Independents who are in league with the Bostonians. The majority here are friends to the Government. I hourly expect some sort of uproar but am calm enough considering I am not endowed with Patience." [40] His courage and calmness increased with danger and he still held some remnant of authority. As he made clear to Lord George Germain: [41] "His Majesty hath not a Governor on this continent, who would more freely expose both his Fortune and his Life in his Service than I would. That is well known here and contributes not a little to keep the dissolute in order." The Governor's natural inclination toward moderation and his tact in dealing with the leaders of both parties, in trying to satisfy demands and yet keep Maryland under the Crown, was well illustrated by his letters.

William Eden was now in the Foreign Office and family news was also official news. In Novevmber, 1774, William wrote his brother from Downing Street:

My dear Bob:

Tom Eden is as violent a Patriot that he will not let me write one word worth your reading, as he says that my accursed Politics have already brought a flux on the Blood of our Family. Take plain facts therefore without any comment. You who are a moderate man and wish well and kindly to both Parties at the same time that you dislike the extremes of their language and conduct pursued by both will distinguish truth from Falshood in the strange Jumble of Misrepresentation with which our News-Papers are stuffed.[42]

[40] April 28, 1775. British Public Records, Colonial Office, transcript in Library of Congress, Washington, p. 375.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] William Eden to Robert Eden, Downing St., Nov. 15, 1775, Red Book # 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

On May 5, 1775, Robert Eden explained to Lord Dartmouth that he could not prevent delegates going to the newly created Congress but was assured that they would bring about reconciliation.[43] He stressed that he had not slept twice out of the city since his return because "disorder was too active." By August he was further disturbed by the actions of two members of his Council. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, an intimate friend, had gone over to the patriots and accepted office. Beale Bordley, too, but he took an inactive part. The words Tory and Loyalist were bantered about and by Fall everyone knew where everyone else stood. Military training and the taking of an oath to support the Continental Congress were compulsory. The Governor's friends were leaving for England as fast as they could secure passage. The ports were to be closed in September so that often wives and children were sent off ahead to ensure a safe voyage. In the case of some of the Dulany clan, the men left rather than "associate" but their wives remained to hold on to the estates. The Rev. Jonathan Boucher's resounding voice had been raised long and loud in defense of his mother country. He had threatened to shoot any who removed him from his pulpit. However, discretion took the better part of valor and the worthy parson sailed with his Maryland wife on the last day of grace. Many families were divided politically, some members signing up for General Washington's army while others waited in England for the rout of it, which they were sure could not be far in the future.

The Governor was lonely that winter. The races had been cancelled at the suggestion of Congress; the theatrical company had scattered. Marylanders were pulling in their belts, preparing for hard times. No balls, no entertaining, only long articles in the *Gazette* on the making of gun-powder. To pass the time perhaps, he had the Annapolis portrait painter, Charles Willson Peale, do his portrait. The eyes and the sword did not suit and had to be altered. Mr. Peale, also, altered a hand on a crayon portrait of Mrs. Eden and daughter which had been done in England and which the Governor had brought back with him to console him for the absence of his family.[44] Dr. Upton Scott, his

[43] British Public Records, Colonial Office, transcript in Library of Congress. William Legge, 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, was Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1772-75.

[44] Diary of Charles Willson Peale, Nov. 1775. Transcript owned by Charles Coleman Sellers.

physician, and opulent Clerk of the Council, was still in town. Two intimate friends who had married Dulany sisters were almost out of reach—George Fitzhugh was thirty miles away at Epping Forest [45] in Baltimore County and the Rev. John Montgomery had moved to a parish on the Eastern Shore.[46] There was little he could discuss now with the Carrolls or Jenifer, while Paca, Chase and Johnson, his old "Homony Club" cronies, were leaders of the opposition.[47] All foreign mail had been disrupted or was censored if it did get through the lines. The only chance to send or receive a letter was to smuggle it by way of the West Indies. Eddis had been honored by an invitation to be part of the Governor's household after his family left. Urging reason and moderation on the colonists he at the same time despaired of both because of rabble rousers, he reported that "a greater degree of moderation appears to predominate in this province than in any other on the continent; and I am perfectly assured we are very materially indebted for this peculiar advantage to the collected and consistent conduct of our Governor, whose views appear solely directed to advance the interests of the community; and to preserve, by every possible method, the public tranquility." [48]

The Governor relaxed from the tenseness of Annapolis long enough to go to the Eastern Shore to visit his friend the Rev. John Montgomery.[49] Installed in Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County, Montgomery was a man who spoke his language, an intimate ever since his occupancy of St. Anne's, Annapolis. The Governor was apologetic for earlier refusals of invitations but promised:

As soon as the Convention is over I will bring powder, shot and some guns and will with great Courage attack your ducks. I shall rely on your talents with the young ladies at Mrs. Chaces, for a bed-fellow—if the weather continues as cold as it is now but half, I think is preferable to a whole one. Don't tell Mrs. Montgomery and neither shall I. But I am serious in this—you can share it *now*.

---

[45] 400 acres of the Dulany holdings in the Valley of Jehosophat, Baltimore County, given to Mrs. Fitzhugh after the Revolution.

[46] Shrewsbury Parish, Kent County. Ethan Allen Papers, Md. Diocesan Lib.

[47] William Paca, later Signer of the Declaration and Governor of Md., Samuel Chase, signer of the Declaration, Assoc. Justice, U. S. Supreme Court, and Thomas Johnson, 1st Governor of Md. under new constitution.

[48] Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[49] John Montgomery, called "The Beauty of Holiness," was supposed to have been the original of Thackeray's Rev. Mr. Honeyman in *The Newcomes*. See, Mrs. Rebecca Key, "A Notice of Some of the First Buildings with Notes of Some of the Early Residents," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (1919), XIV, 268. Licensed for Maryland and served 3 parishes there from 1770 until 1775, when he returned to England with his wife. Allen Papers, Md. Diocesan Library.

This facetia he repeated a month later in a letter to George Fitzhugh: "you may promise Mrs. Addison [Fitzhugh's sister-in-law, another Dulany] all or part of my room—which ever she chooses. This cold weather but half would be preferable to a whole one." [50] One would think that Eden had not a serious thought if it were not for the ending of the letter: "God bless you all, send us better Times and peace and comfort once more, as much for your sakes as that of your sincere friend and humble sert, R. Eden."

Some time that winter, still longing for the companionship of John Montgomery, he wrote him in his best classical Latin:

The Governor sends greeting to the Pastor
Most Reverend Sir:

If you can do without feminine society, most delightful though it is, and if no other duties claim you whether at home or elsewhere, do hurry over here, I beg. Don't stand on ceremony, for you will find here the following; that doctor of mine, most famous of all doctors, my secretary, (the best of all poets) and those two well known men of more advanced age (my guest and your neighbor) all dressed in leather and ready to play cards.

If your guest has no other plans either at home or abroad, do bring him with you.

Farewell [51]

The Maryland convention met in Annapolis in January and busied itself relentlessly with preparations for war. Correspondence between official England and the Continental Congress was slow and plans could not wait. A shooting war was actually going on around Boston and Norfolk, Va.; Montreal had surrendered and Eden, of all the Royal Governors, stayed on in his executive capacity, though powerless. The government had passed completely into the hands of the Council of Safety and Eden was little more than a hostage.[52] The Governor, without knowing whether any of his pleadings to his government had had results, wished once more to offer suggestions through men still friendly

[50] Eden to Montgomery, Dec. 4, 1775, Md. Historical Society; Eden to George Lee Mason Fitzhugh, son of Col. William Fitzhugh of "Rousby Hall," Jan. 29, 1776 addressed to "Epping Forest," Md. Hist. Soc.

[51] Eden to Montgomery, no date. Translated by Miss Evelyn Saunders, Bryn Mawr School, *Md. Hist. Soc.*

[52] Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Robert Eden*, in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, ser. 16, nos. 7-9 (Baltimore, 1898), p. 101.

to him in the Convention. In January of 1776 he drove out to Stepney, a few miles below Annapolis, to see his old companion, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. From there issued the following letter to Charles Carroll, the Barrister:

> Governor Eden is now with me and very desirous and willing to cooperate with you and Mr. Tilghman and such other gentlemen of the Convention as are willing to disperse the cloud that has almost overshadowed and ready to burst upon us.

Carroll was asked to bring a group to dinner "to form plans to save millions of money and thousands of lives." To this Barrister Carroll replied the same day explaining that they were not able to go so far and get back for the evening session of the convention but that he would be delighted to have Jenifer and Eden dine with him, if they did not mind having no meat that evening.[53] The result of the dinner meeting was three letters, two to William Eden and one to Lord Dartmouth on the subject of reconciliation, for which passes were asked from the Council of Safety and from Congress and in which Eden on his honor, said nothing unfriendly to America. The letters contained various printed news of Congress and of the Maryland Convention and what he termed "the important whisper of the Day." He told them that he had had no mail for seven months but excused the colonists for stopping it, and repeated that he was still sure that the Marylanders did not want to separate themselves from England and that he continued to hope for peace.[54]

In the meantime Annapolis was being fortified; all important state papers were removed to Upper Marlboro for safety; and a last chance given to join the militia and sign the Association or be declared an enemy. Harbors were empty; tradesmen and mechanics closed their shops; currency, except for the new American paper, was scarce, and even the farms, mostly tobacco, were neglected. Eddis and Clapham, the sole survivors of all the British officials, still manned the Loan and Land Offices and were, with the Governor, allowed their personal freedom.

Baltimore, as Eden said, was "the great scene of Maryland politics." It was a town of recent and rapid growth and its popu-

[53] This correspondence is printed in *America Archives*, ed. by Peter Force (9 vols., Washington, 1837-1853), ser. 5, V, 680.

[54] Transcripts of Eden correspondence from British Public Records Office in Fisher Transcripts, Maryland Historical Society.

lation was largely composed of merchants who were anxious to have this war settled one way or another. A radical group prevailed, though being the younger city their representation in the Convention and in Congress was less strong than was that of the conservative planters of Southern Maryland. However, the radicals grew in strength each day and looked with impatience on the diplomatic messages and placating tone that emanated from the capital city. Why was not Eden confined or sent home at once? He was, they said, undoubtedly acting as secret agent for the Crown and as such was dangerous to the commonwealth. The ardent patriots of Virginia on the one side and of Pennsylvania on the other, demanded that some action be taken with regard to the Governor. This was the first, but not the last, time that Maryland resented interference with her sovereign rights. The Annapolis Council rebuffed its critics in no uncertain terms and allowed the Governor to remain.

The case broke when letters from Lord George Germain [55] to Eden were intercepted. Lord George had succeeded Lord Dartmouth in the Colonial Office and was noted for his carelessness. In answering Eden's letter of the previous August he gave away much of the news that had been sent him. He also announced that a fleet was on its way to the southern colonies, " his Majesty's deluded subjects." [56] These letters were enough to condemn Eden, but in spite of them there were still friends in power who stood up for his claim as a peacemaker. However, the Baltimore Committee of Observation took the whole matter to Congress and orders to seize the papers and person of the Governor were sent to Annapolis. An armed platoon under Captain Samuel Smith arrived in a boat to carry out the orders of the officious Baltimoreans but the Council of Safety sped them home with alacrity. There was an exchange of polite letters, Eden denying that he had ever done anything secretly or hostile to Maryland, reaffirmed his desire to remain as Governor as long as he could be helpful. The Council believed him and almost apologized for ever having been suspicious.

For the month that followed until the next meeting of the Maryland Convention Eden gave his voluntary parole not to leave

[55] George Sackville, Lord George Germain, afterwards Viscount Sackville and Baron Bolebroke, Secretary of State for Colonies, 1775-1782. Letters written Dec. 25, 1775. Fisher Transcripts, Md. Hist. Soc.

[56] *American Archives*, ser. 4, V, 1594.

the country, but at the same time he was quietly packing his belongings preparatory to his departure which seemed inevitable. Finally on May 24 a committee of five was appointed by the Convention to present the resolutions it had passed declaring "that the Publick quiet and safety . . . require that he leave the Province and that he is at full liberty to depart peaceably with all his effects." Eden told his visitors that he should "still continue most sincerely to wish for the welfare and prosperity of Maryland, and consequently, for a reconciliation with and constitutional dependency on Great Britain." Though independence was only six weeks off, there were many there that day who whole-heartedly agreed with Eden's wish. On the seventh and again on the twelfth of June the Governor called his old Council together to arrange the closing of all departments except the Land Office, and with its adjournment the Upper House of the Colonial Assembly forever passed away.[57]

The moderation of the Convention and of the Council of Safety in allowing the Governor to depart voluntarily was not popular with the Baltimoreans and other groups in the Province. The Virginians, too, still cried out for his blood. Gen. Charles Lee wrote Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia, "What poor mortals are these Maryland Council men! I hope the Congress will write a letter to the People of that Province at large advising 'em to get rid of their damn'd Government. Their aim is to continue feudal Lords to a Tyrant." [58]

John Parke Custis, a Virginian, awaiting the birth of a Maryland child at the seat of his father-in-law, Mount Airy, shows additional anxieties in writing to his mother, Mrs. Washington:

> . . . and I believe the Province of Maryd will shortly be in a State of the greatest Confusion; the People being discontented with their Convention; and Mr. Calvert takes a Part which I fear will involve Him in many Troubles . . . Govr Eden sails for England in a few days, or goes on board a man of War, there are many tories who would go with Him most willingly, but I hear He has absolutely refused to carry them with Him.[59]

Eden continued "easy and collected" and was "treated with every exterior mark of attention" but he anxiously awaited a

[57] Steiner, *Robert Eden*, p. 133.

[58] Charlestown, June 29, 1776, Charles Lee papers, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1872*, p. 96.

[59] John Parke Custis to Martha Washington, "Mount Airy," June 9, 1776. Mount Vernon Collection. Benedict Calvert was a member of the dissolved Council. He remained in Maryland during the Revolution.

vessel to take him away.[60] At length on June 23, *Fowey* a naval ship of the line appeared in the harbor and the Governor was conducted to his barge by the entire Council of Safety, who took " an affectionate leave of their late supreme magistrate." [61] Unfortunately the promise to get his baggage on board was not carried out. Retaliation for the *Fowey's* refusal to land some refugee servants was taken out on the Governor, and his belongings were returned to his late residence. The last tribute paid him by his friends was when a group of gentlemen from Oxford took some sheep and hogs aboard before the ship sailed down the Bay.[62]

The last Colonial Governor to the end of his administration was sincerely solicitous for the welfare of the Province. Unfortunately he trusted the advice of the wealthy, conservative Dulanys and had not the imagination to see clearly the advancing line of democracy. His frank, easy manner and his personal charm made friends wherever he went. He had courage, both moral and physical. While not courting danger, he took it in his stride, caring neither for the threats of the mob nor for the insults of former friends. Perhaps he could not understand, kindly and generous as he was, that anyone could hate him. Of the impressions left by his intimate friends, that of William Eddis is all adulation. Boucher, a more outspoken man, saw his faults as well as his virtues:

" Sir Robert Eden was a handsome, lively and sensible man. He had been in the Army and had contracted such habits of expense and dissipation as were fatal to his fortune and at length his life. . . . With an income of 3 or 4 thousand pounds a year, he was always in debt, and although he had great quickness of parts and a large experience of the world, he was a bad politican, as being not sufficiently steady and firm. . . . Few equalled him in letter writing." [63]

Eden's letters show discernment, tact and a fluency of expression. His library of French books was a pleasure to borrowing friends.[64] In his letter of August 27, 1775 to the Colonial Office he quoted Montesquieu, Locke and Blackstone. His Latin is scholarly and he knew Horace by heart.

Thomas Jennings, Poet Laureate of the Homony Club, immortalized him in a long poem on the members:

[60] Eddis, *Letters*. p. 310.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 313.
[62] *Archives of Md.*, XI, 529.
[63] Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 67.
[64] C. W. Peale Diary, Nov. 4, 1775. Transcript owned by C. S. Sellers.

Me thinks I see with slow and solemn pace
The grave Sir Robert take his destined place;
His courtly bow and unaffected air,
The high-bred man of quality declare,
Kind, lavish nature did to him impart
Endowment proper for the dancing art;
and all must own that 'tis to his address
our club's admired so much for politeness.[65]

Eden's scholarship and friendliness were outweighed, however, by his frivolity in the eyes of many of the Marylanders, including the Carroll family. Bits of gossip between Carrolls were constantly driving home the fact that the Governor was "a very dissipated man." Charles Carroll of Annapolis found one story was worth sending across the ocean.

"The Major [Daniel of St. T. Jenifer] tells me he has wrote to you lately, I suppose he has given you an account of his and deButt's [John Debutts, an Irishman, visiting in Annapolis] rastling at the Gov's and some other particulars of that drunken frolic. Mrs. Eden was so much alarmed (as it is said) at ye disturbance they made in ye house that she miscarried." [66]

John Beale Bordley, one of the better minds of the Council, added his comment—"Foppery, idleness and dissipation are striding briskly on to bring about a general change of proprietors for our land." [67] The poem to First Citizen published in The *Maryland Gazette*, June 10, 1773, shows, crude though it is, that the Governor's popularity was not universal;

"We're assured that no plot we e'er shall succeed in
'Till we send into exile all men of reading
and hang up their patron this little God Exxx."

More courtier, than statesman; more hearty in manner than deep in feeling; victim of his class and training, one feels that Boucher summed him up wisely when he said: "Yet with all his follies and foibles which were indeed abundant,—he had such a warmth and affectioness of heart that it was impossible not to love him." [68]

(*to be concluded*)

[65] Ms poem by Thomas Jennings ca. 1770, Gilmor Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.
[66] Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Charles Carroll, the Barrister, Aug. 9, 1771. *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXII (1932), 200-201.
[67] John Beale Bordley to Jennings, 1771 quoted in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II. 49.
[68] Boucher, *Reminiscences*, p. 67.

THE UNION PARTY CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE IN 1864

By William Frank Zornow

At the height of the Civil War in 1864 the political parties girded for battle in the first war-time presidential election in American history. Within the Republican or Union party there was much opposition against the suggestion that Abraham Lincoln should be renominated. This opposition was being led by a group of malcontents who styled themselves "radicals"; they felt that Lincoln's attitudes on the important problems of reconstruction and emancipation were too conservative. It was their hope to replace him with a man of more radical stripe such as Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, General Benjamin F. Butler, or John C. Frémont. Some even spoke of the possibility of nominating Ulysses S. Grant.

Early in 1864 successive booms were launched for Chase by his treasury agents and a few minor political bosses, as well as for Butler by a few of his staff and personal friends. Due to divisions within the Radical ranks, the compelling power of Lincoln's machine and the executive patronage, and the pressure of the voters who indicated emphatically that they would accept no candidate but "Honest Abe," these efforts had been easily beaten. With Frémont, on the other hand, Lincoln had less success, and the Pathfinder was nominated in May at Cleveland, Ohio by a group of dissatisfied Germans and abolitionists who created an ephemeral party known as the Radical Democracy. The boom for Grant was a complete failure when the general refused to have his name considered for political office while the war was yet to be won.

When the radicals failed to develop a candidate of sufficient stature to challenge Lincoln's claim for renomination, they tried to gain additional time by having the party convention delayed

until late in the summer. They hoped that by then public opinion would have shifted against Lincoln so that he could be safely shunted aside. These hopes failed to materialize too when the Union party's National Executive Committee met on February 22 at the home of its chairman, Senator Edwin D. Morgan of New York, and chose June 7th for the date of the convention, and Baltimore as its site. The selection of such an early date was a definite triumph for Lincoln and his friends for it enabled the chief executive to capitalize on his great popularity with the voters.

During the intervening months from February to June before the Baltimore meeting, the various state legislatures and the Union party state conventions adopted resolutions warmly supporting Lincoln's renomination and instructing the delegates chosen to attend at Baltimore to vote for him. By the time the convention met Lincoln had been assured of the support of every state except Missouri. There did not seem to be any power which could prevent his selection, nevertheless, the Radicals were not entirely reconciled to the inevitable choice facing them, and there was always the danger the party might split to pieces at the last moment while they bolted and chose another candidate.

The Union party convention at Baltimore in 1864 was one of the most interesting political gatherings of the Civil War period. It is unique in that it was the only national convention of this party. The party was a fusion of Republicans, war-Democrats, and others who had united solely to fight the war; it dissolved quickly when peace was restored. It marked the ascendancy of Lincoln and his conservative friends over the radical wing of the Republican party. After this there was a steady decline of conservative influence as the Radicals came into their own during 1865. Already at the convention important concessions were made to the Radicals by Lincoln, who in his customary wisdom saw that they were no longer willing to tolerate his "border state" policies. The concessions he made at the convention won him their temporary support. The convention is interesting too because it produced its share of political bargains and serves to show quite clearly the astuteness of Lincoln the politician as he remained behind the scenes yet directed many of the most important deliberations of the meeting through emissaries especially chosen for the task. Lastly, in the national struggle for freedom the convention was a significant landmark because it adopted a plat-

form calling for a constitutional amendment prohibiting the hated institution of slavery.

On the eve of the Baltimore convention there seemed to be no obstacles in the way of securing Abraham Lincoln's renomination. In turn both Chase and Butler had entered the list against him only to suffer the ignominy of defeat. The boom for Grant had expired with a mild sputter after Lincoln dampened its fuse and the general himself expressed little interest in any movements other than Lee's. Frémont was gathering his little brood at Cleveland as he sought to find a devious path which might lead him to the White House. They were not strong enough to prevent Lincoln's renomination, neverthless, they were important enough to bear close watching for they might drain off enough votes in some of the states to influence the outcome of the election. " This Frémont movement is a weak thing," wrote one of Andrew Johnson's friends, " but just about as strong as the Birney movement which defeated Henry Clay in 1844." [1] Lincoln would have to deal with Frémont before November, but for the time being no obstacle seemed to stand in the President's path. A majority of the delegates were instructed to vote for him and most of the others were pledged to support him. Lincoln, however, was still cautious and took a decidedly gloomy view of the situation.

To Alexander McClure, Lincoln expressed his pessimistic outlook and was promptly reassured that no power could prevent his selection. " Well, McClure, what you say seems to be unanswerable," admitted Lincoln, " but I don't quite forget that I was nominated for President in a convention that was two-thirds for the other fellow." [2] Abram Dittenhoefer, who was also a delegate chosen to attend the convention, visited Washington about a week before the meeting and found Lincoln quite worried. He tried to reassure the chief executive, who seemed to feel that the New York delegation would turn against him. Dittenhoefer spoke of the loyalty of William Seward, and Thurlow Weed, and promised that even Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* would support him. Lincoln brightened considerably. " That's good news," he replied.[3] The President apparently did not trust the radical mem-

[1] George Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, June 11, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS, Library of Congress.

[2] Alexander K. McClure, *Abraham Lincoln and Men of War-Times* (Philadelphia, 1892), p. 124.

[3] Abram J. Dittenhoefer, *How We Elected Lincoln* (New York, 1916), pp. 77, 80-81.

bers within his party but suspected until the very eve of the convention that they might undo the work of his friends and office-holders and nominate another candidate. These fears were by no means groundless, for it was well known that Radical Senator Samuel C. Pomeroy had been working to call a special " people's convention " in Baltimore to meet simultaneously with the regular party gathering.[4]

The disheartening news of the butchery at Cold Harbor did not diminish the enthusiasm of the campaign and all looked forward with much anticipation to the coming canvass.[5] Washington was alive with activity as politicians bound for Baltimore from the hinterlands stopped off in order to pay their respects.[6] " Washington is overrun with politicians, with contractors, and with busy-bodies of all kinds and sizes," quipped Adam Gurowski, radical opponent of Lincoln's administration: " The Baltimore Convention is at the door, and the ravens make due obeisance to the White House." [7] After a brief consultation with the White House sage, they were off again for the convention.

In Baltimore the delegations from New York and the eastern states took up their residence at the Eutaw House, while those from Pennsylvania and the West took up their abode at Barnum's City Hotel.[8] The city was rife with intrigue and speculations. Who would the vice-presidential nominee be? What about the two delegations which had appeared from Missouri? What was to be the fate of the delegations from Lincoln's bayonet states of the newly " reconstructed " South? These and many other questions were upon everyone's lips. There did not seem to be much speculation as to whether or not Lincoln would be selected; this apparently was a foregone conclusion.[9] Many expressed the

[4] John Wilson to Salmon Chase, May 2, 1864, Salmon Chase MSS, Library of Congress. This project was later abandoned.

[5] James F. Rhodes, *The History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the Final Restoration of Home Rule at the South* (New York, 1907), IV, 468.

[6] Tyler Dennett (ed.), *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), p. 185. Diary entry of June 5, 1864.

[7] Adam Gurowski, *Diary* (Washington, 1866), III, 246-247. Entry of June 5, 1864.

[8] Baltimore *Sun,* June 7, 1864. In honor of the occasion the hotelkeepers of Baltimore had agreed to raise their prices to $7.00 a day for a single room. Baltimore *Clipper,* June 3, 1864.

[9] Abram Dittenhoefer, *op. cit.,* p. 82. He claimed that there was much grumbling among the Radicals, but that they were resigned to taking Lincoln. Andrew White, *Autobiography* (New York, 1905), I. 120. White wrote, " The general opinion of the delegates clearly favored the renomination of Mr. Lincoln."

opinion, however, that the radicals would not accept the results of the convention but would bolt. Campaign biographies of Chase were in evidence throughout the city, which served to remind many that his friends were still hoping for a miracle.[10] On June 6th, the Radicals printed and distributed a circular among the delegates. This document asked a series of questions concerning the efficiency of Lincoln's administration. " Is it not a fact that large numbers of the Baltimore Convention regret that they have been instructed to nominate a man for President whom they feel is the most vulnerable to attack of any who might be named by the party? " asked the Radicals as they sought to sow seeds of doubt in the delegates' minds. The circular intimated that Lincoln had stolen his whole program from Frémont and Chase.[11]

The full scope of this dissatisfaction with Lincoln among the delegates was difficult to estimate accurately; therefore, to gain a better clue as to its extent the meeting of the National Grand Council of the Union League of America, which was scheduled to meet in Baltimore on June 6th, was watched with special interest. The League had met the preceding December in Washington and adopted resolutions against Lincoln. Many members of the Grand Council had at that time preferred Chase. The December meeting had adjourned to meet " at the same place and at about the same time as the Republican National Convention." Hence, the June 6th meeting in Baltimore.

This session would be a most revealing curtain raiser for the main event, for it was here that the Radicals would probably make their last bid against Lincoln's power. The President, when he expressed his doubts to McClure and Dittenhoefer, may have feared that the Radicals assembled in the league meeting might stampede the convention into some hasty action and induce the delegates to nominate another candidate.

On June 6th a group of the delegates in Baltimore began to slip away quietly from their hotels about noon and headed for the League meeting. According to William Stoddard, who has left an interesting account of this session, these men were " the

[10] Chase had written to Senator John Sherman that no further attention was to be given his name; copies of this letter were also being circulated among the delegates. J. G. Jewell to Salmon Chase, June 9, 1864, Salmon Chase MSS.

[11] Baltimore *Gazette*, June 9, 1864; J. Hiestand to Thad. Stevens, May 29, 1864, Thaddeus Stevens MSS, Library of Congress. Hiestand urged Stevens and the Radicals to " make some demonstration which will force Lincoln up to some higher point. . . ."

majority in number and the overwhelming preponderance in power of the body of delegates " which would gather at the party convention the following day. Stoddard expected that all the debating for the national convention would be transacted at the League meeting so that with all questions settled in advance the latter assembly would present an appearance of complete unanimity. " It is the place where all the anti-Lincoln steam is to be let off," explained Stoddard, " so that it will not scald the work in the Wigwam. There was never a wiser provision made for the escape of dangerous vapor." [12]

Stoddard's claim that the delegates at the council meeting represented a majority of the delegates to the national convention was erroneous. Actually there were only 136 delegates present at the council meeting.[13] Of this number only thirty-six appeared on the list of delegates to the national convention. There were more than five hundred delegates selected for the national convention. If all the 136 members of the Grand Council had been delegates to the national convention, they would have constituted less than one quarter of the members and not a majority as Stoddard claimed. Additional proof that all the members of the Grand Council were not delegates to the party convention is to be found in the fact that they adopted a resolution asking Edward McPherson for tickets to the party convention.[14] If all had been members, they would not have needed tickets to gain admission.[15]

At the meeting of the Grand Council Lincoln's opponents paraded once again the old threadbare accusations of malfeasance, tyranny, corruption, favoritism, frivolity, and vulgarity. This all-out attack had been precipitated when Samuel Miller of Pennsylvania offered a resolution recommending the renomination of Lincoln and Hamlin. During the assault Lincoln's friend and emissary, Senator James H. Lane of Kansas, sat impatiently biding his time. To protect his interests at the league session, Lincoln had requested the Senator to attend on his behalf.[16] At length

[12] William O. Stoddard, *Inside the White House in War Time* (New York, 1890), p. 238.

[13] *Meeting of the National Grand Council of the Union League of America, June 6, 1864* (n. p., n. d.), pp. 2-4.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[15] Anna Smith Hardie, " The Influence of the Union League of America on the Second Election of Lincoln," Unpublished M. A. thesis in the library of Louisiana State University, 1937, pp. 43-45.

[16] John Speer, *Life of General James H. Lane* (Garden City, Kansas, 1896), p. 279.

Lane took the floor. The Kansan was described as a man with a "peculiar faculty for saying an offensive, insolent thing in the most galling offensive and insolent manner." He lived up to this reputation as he flayed the Radicals and refuted one by one their accusations against Lincoln. At first the Radicals were incensed over his venomous counter-attack, but gradually they began to

> lean forward and listen, while they more or less rapidly are swept into the tide of conviction and are made to believe, with him that any other nomination than that of Lincoln tomorrow is equivalent to the nomination of [George B.] McClellan by the Republican Convention and his election by the Republican Party; that it would sunder the Union, make permanent the Confederacy, reshackle the slaves, dishonor the dead and disgrace the living.[17]

At length the Radical opposition to Lincoln subsided before Lane's eloquent appeal; Miller's resolution was adopted with but few dissenting voices. Other resolutions were also approved which foreshadowed to a large extent those which would comprise the party's platform. Having blown off one last head of steam against Lincoln's renomination, the National Grand Council of the Union League of America adjourned its session.

By some connivance the malcontents, reputedly under the direction of the wily Representative Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, had managed to rent the regular Baltimore convention hall for June 7th. The delegates suddenly found themselves without a hall in which to assemble. Various counter-proposals were made ranging from a suggestion that the meeting move to Philadelphia to one that a temporary shelter should be constructed, but at last it was decided to move the meeting into the Front Street Theatre, and it was there that the delegates took their seats at the appointed hour.[18] "What a crowd of sharp faced, keen, greedy politicians. These men would literally devour every one in their way . . . everywhere shoddy contractors, schemers, pap-journalists, expectants, etc., etc., The atmosphere, the spaces are filled with greedy and devouring eyes. The moral insight of the convention would disgust one with the people, but I know the various combinations and events which brought this scum to the

[17] William O. Stoddard, *op. cit.*, p. 239. General George McClellan later accepted the Democratic nomination on a platform which branded the war a failure and called for an immediate armistice.

[18] Gideon Welles, *op. cit.*, II, 30. Entry of May 13, 1864; George F. Milton, *The Age of Hate: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals* (New York, 1930), pp. 42-43.

surface, and I know that it is not the genuine people," said Gurowski as he surveyed the assemblage.[19] The throngs which gathered here were arranged in four tiers. On the main floor were the delegates; on the first tier were placed the alternates; on the second balcony were the ladies and gentlemen who had come to see the show; and the fourth tier was crowded with a miscellaneous crowd of spectators representing every political party and all shades of acceptable and questionable society.[20] In this small arena one of the most important political episodes of the Civil War was to be enacted.

The conditions in the cramped theatre were by no means ideal. Andrew White described the meeting later in his memoirs in the following passage:

> . . . Although I have attended several similar assemblages since, no other has ever seemed to me so interesting. It met in an old theater, on one of the noisiest corners in the city, and, as it was June, and the weather already very warm, it was necessary, in order to have as much air as possible, to remove curtains and scenery from the stage and throw the back of the theater open to the street. The result was, indeed, a circulation of air, but, with this, a noise from without which confused everything within.[21]

It was no wonder that the delegates were impatient with the speakers and refused to permit any of the longer winded politicians to occupy the floor for more than a few moments. The deliberations of this body were characterized by the amazing speed with which they were transacted. Any one who attempted an unnecessary address was quickly silenced by the jeers and catcalls of the delegates and spectators.

New York Senator Edwin D. Morgan, chairman of the National Executive Committee, called the convention to order at noon on June 7th. The Senator, who according to reporter Noah Brooks had " no marked aptitude " for his job, gave a brief address which contained one significant sentence. " The party . . ." he insisted, " will fall short of accomplishing its great mission, unless, among its other resolves it shall declare for such an amendment of the constitution as will positively prohibit African slavery in the United States." [22] A torrent of prolonged applause and cheering

[19] Adam Gurowski, *op. cit.*, III, 249. Entry of June 7, 1864.
[20] Baltimore *Gazette,* June 8, 1864.
[21] Andrew White, *op. cit.*, I, 117.
[22] Noah Brooks, " Two War-Time Conventions," *The Century Magazine*, XLIX (March, 1895), 723-724.

followed this assertion. Though Wendell Phillips later insisted that it was his abolitionists and the Cleveland convention of the Radical Democracy which had given birth to the idea of a thirteenth amendment, it was the President himself who had suggested to Morgan several days before that this reference should be included in his opening message.[23] Lincoln showed his remarkable aptitude again for accomplishing two objectives with one stroke; he placated the abolitionists and robbed the Frémont movement of its most salient plank.

Doctor Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky was proposed by Morgan as the president *pro-tem*; whereupon this well known cleric was escorted to the chair from which he delivered a lengthy speech. According to Nicolay and Hay the speech was extemporaneous and " delivered with great ease and dignity, and profoundly impressed his auditors "; Noah Brooks, on the other hand, found that the doctor had a " weak voice and an irresolute manner . . . [and] was unable to make himself heard when the business of organization began." [24]

Breckinridge assumed at the outset that the convention would renominate Lincoln for he inquired, " Does any man doubt that this Convention intends to say that Abraham Lincoln shall be the nominee? " Another thunder of applause and cheering followed this statement, and when order had been restored the Kentuckian went on to discuss at some length the principles involved in the conflict. He indicated that though the constitution was sacred to all, the nation was not its slave. It could be altered from time to time when the need arose, he insisted. The accusations which were being levelled against Lincoln by some within the party and by the opposition that he was violating the constitution, he contended, were invalid for the need had arisen for altering the customary concept of the document. Another point upon which he dwelt at great length was that the delegates assembled in the theatre represented a " Union " party, in the sense that its members were no longer to be considered as Whigs, Democrats, Republicans, or abolitionists. He closed by demanding that every effort be expended to " exterminate and extinguish " slavery.[25]

[23] New York *Independent*, July 7, 1864, prints Phillips's letter in which he makes this claim. Frank B. Carpenter, *Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1866), p. 168.

[24] John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), IX, 65; Noah Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 724.

[25] There was a story current at the time that Lincoln had offered to make

The Methodist minister, the Reverend J. McKendree Reiley, who gave the invocation after Breckinridge had finished, shocked many of the devout delegates when he interrupted the Lord's Prayer to interpolate, " Grant, O Lord, that the ticket here to be nominated may command a majority of the suffrages of the American people." [26]

At the evening session ex-Governor William Dennison of Ohio became the permanent presiding officer.[27] His brief address to the delegates reflected much of the sentiment expressed in earlier speeches. He emphasized once again that the old party lines were now obliterated by the formation of the Union party; he called for a vigorous prosecution of the war and for the assembly to " declare the cause and the support of the rebellion to be slavery, which, as well for its treasonable offenses against the Government as for its incompatibility with the rights of humanity and the permanent peace of the country, must, with the termination of the war, and as much speedier as possible, be made to cease forever in every State and Territory of the Union." Like his predecessor, Breckinridge, he took it for granted in his speech that Lincoln would be renominated.

With the important keynote speeches having been concluded and the permanent organization having been erected, the convention busied itself with three remaining tasks: the settlement of the status of some contested delegations, the adoption of a platform, and the nomination of a vice-presidential candidate.

The report of the Committee on Credentials, which was presented by Preston King of New York, provoked some discussion. No question was raised in regard to the admission of those delegations from the northern states or the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Delaware. There were delegations present, however, from the freshly reconstructed states of Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

Breckinridge the vice-presidential nominee but that he had refused because he was a clergyman. There is no evidence to prove this, however. As part of his election strategy to compliment Breckinridge and also to show the truly national character of his Union party, Lincoln proposed the Kentuckian be given the temporary chairmanship. George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[26] Andrew White, *op. cit.*, I, 118.

[27] Albert Riddle suggested to Lincoln that it would be an excellent idea to have a prominent friend of Chase selected to be presiding officer. Lincoln's managers agreed to this proposal and after a little correspondence Dennison was placed in line for the position. See, Albert G. Riddle, *Recollections of War Times* (New York, 1895), p. 277.

Most of these men were known to be conservative so that opposition from the radical clique was inevitable, but more than that there was much opposition from the New England delegates who were backing Hannibal Hamlin for renomination and knew that he would get little support from these southern states.[28] The assembly voted to admit the delegates from Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas with all the privileges of the floor. Many in the crowded theatre nodded approvingly when the Tennesseans were admitted by a vote of 310 to 151; it was regarded by them as a marked indication of the preference for Andrew Johnson for the vice-presidency.[29] The delegates from Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada were also admitted with voting privileges. Those from Virginia, Florida, and the territories were admitted without the right to vote, and the delegates from South Carolina were barred from the convention entirely.

Some discussion was engendered by the fact that Missouri had sent two delegations to the convention. In that state a Republican convention was held at St. Louis on May 18th pursuant to a call issued by Frank Blair and Samuel Glover. The delegates who had been chosen to attend the Baltimore convention had been instructed to vote for Lincoln. On May 29th the radical faction met at Jefferson City and decided to send a delegation to Baltimore instructed to vote for General Grant.[30] The Committee on Credentials after considering the matter thoroughly recommended that " those styling themselves the Radical Union Delegation be awarded the seats." Amid tumultous applause and shouting the assembly voted in favor of seating the Radical delegation 440 to 4; this move was regarded as a notice served upon Lincoln that his party would no longer tolerate the Blair influence and the " border state " policy.[31]

Though many Radicals gloated over the belief that the seating of the Radical delegates from Missouri was a word of warning spoken by the convention against the President's policies, it was

[28] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 53.

[29] Noah Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 724; James W. Patton *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934), pp. 45-46.

[30] Sceva B. Laughlin, " Missouri Politics During the Civil War," *The Missouri Historical Review*, XXIV (January, 1930), 265-266; H. C. McDougal, " A Decade of Missouri Politics 1860-1870—From a Republican Viewpoint," *The Missouri Historical Review*, III (January, 1909), 141-142.

[31] *Harper's Weekly*, June 25, 1864; William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1933), II, 266-267.

Lincoln himself who had actually recommended their admission. On June 5th, Lincoln's secretary, John Nicolay, who was present at the convention, reported to the chief executive that the Radical delegates from Missouri had intimated to Burton C. Cook, chairman of the Illinois delegation, that they would vote for Lincoln if promised seats in the convention. He inquired whether or not it would be permissible to admit them.[32] Lincoln apparently indicated to Nicolay that they should be. The following day the Illinois delegation was gathered at Barnum's City Hotel to discuss the Missouri situation; all except chairman Cook favored the admission of the conservative delegation for if this were done Lincoln would have the honor of being nominated by acclamation. Before the delegates could take a vote, a young man who had been seated unobtrusively in the corner asked if he might say a few words. After reiterating several times that he was expressing his own opinion, he maintained that it would be preferable to admit the Radical delegation. The assembly knew that the young man was John Nicolay, and although he declared most emphatically that he was speaking his own mind, most of the Illinois delegates soon realized that he was actually acting as Lincoln's mouthpiece. Without hesitation they voted to admit the Radicals and the rest of the delegations followed the lead of Lincoln's own state.[33]

The admission of the Missouri Radical delegation through Lincoln's indirect instructions was not prompted by the assurances that they would vote for him. There would have been no need of yielding to them for the sake of the twenty-two votes; Lincoln already had a clear majority from the other states, and had he wished a unanimous vote he could have advised the admission of the conservative delegates who were already pledged to him. The President saw the necessity of uniting all the elements of the party. He wished to give the Radical clique no further excuse for later claiming that the convention had been closed to them and that the party was merely his tool. By admitting them to the deliberations he bound them to accept the action which the convention took and deprived them of any excuse for casting their lot with Frémont's Radical Democracy.[34] There is no evidence to indi-

[32] John Nicolay to John Hay, June 5, 1864, quoted in John Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Harrogate, Tenn., n. d.), X, 114-115.
[33] Clark E. Carr, "Why Lincoln was Not Re-nominated by Acclamation," *The Century Ilustrated Monthly Magazine*, LXII (February, 1907), 504-505.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.

cate that the President ever believed the Radicals' pledge to Nicolay that they would vote for him if admitted. He probably realized they would vote for Grant, but for the sake of party solidarity he could easily forego the honor of being nominated by acclamation.

Henry Raymond, as chairman of the platform committee, reported the following eleven planks to the assembly for its consideration:

1. *Resolved*, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves, as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling by force of arms the Rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the Rebels and traitors arrayed against it.
2. *Resolved*, That we aprove the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with Rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position, and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the Rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.
3. *Resolved*, That as Slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be, always and everywhere, hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic—and that while we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defense, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil, we are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.
4. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the Army and Navy who have periled their lives in defense of their country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and

honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defense shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

5. *Resolved,* That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism and the unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principle of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation and as within the provisions of the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes; that we approve, especially, the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery, and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country into full and complete effect.
6. *Resolved,* That we deem it essential to the general welfare that harmony should prevail in the National Councils, and we regard as worthy of public confidence and official trust those only who cordially endorse the principles proclaimed in these resolutions, and which should characterize the administration of the Government.
7. *Resolved,* That the Government owes to all men employed in its armies, without regard to distinction of color, the full protection of the laws of war, and that any violation of these laws, or of the usages of civilized nations in time of war, by the Rebels now in arms, should be made the subject of prompt and full redress.
8. *Resolved,* That foreign immigration which in part has added so much to the wealth, development of resources and increase of power of this nation, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.,
9. *Resolved,* That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the Railroad to the Pacific coast.
10. *Resolved,* That the National faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the National currency.
11. *Resolved,* That we approve the position taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European Power to overthrow by force or to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government of the Western Continent and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for Monarchial

> Governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.[35]

The third resolution in favor of a constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery was the outgrowth of an earlier suggestion by Lincoln that such a plank should be included in the platform.[36] The sixth resolutions was also of considerable importance; like the admission of the Missouri Radicals it was an attempt to placate the members of that branch of the party. The person or persons against whom the resolution was directed remained a matter for conjecture. The suggestion of reorganizing the cabinet would naturally provoke much speculation for nearly every member of that group had at one time or another incurred the wrath of some faction which had clamored for his removal. It was generally felt that the resolution was aimed specifically at Montgomery Blair, the Postmaster General, whose trenchant denunciations of the Radicals had made him absolutely persona non grata to them.[37] The reference may have also been directed against the other conservative members of the cabinet, Gideon Welles and Edward Bates.[38] Welles insisted that though public opinion believed the resolution was directed at Blair it was actually aimed at William Seward.[39] The eleventh resolution was regarded as a compromise. The Radicals had wished to make it another censure upon Lincoln and Seward; but the conservatives had assumed that the President and his cabinet were in accord and headed the resolution to the affect that they approved the decision " taken by the Government that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt to supplant by fraud the institutions of any Republican Government of the Western Continent." [40]

A resolution which was conspicuously missing from the platform was one favoring the confiscation of Confederate property. This idea had been urged most emphatically before Congress by Representative George Julian of Indiana, and it had found its way into the platform of the Radical Democracy at Cleveland, although

[35] Edward McPherson, *A Political History of the United States of America during the Great Rebellion* (Washington, 1865), pp. 406-407.
[36] Wendell P. Garrison and Francis J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879* (London, 1889), IV, 113, 117. Garrison said the third resolution was received with the most cheering.
[37] John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IX, 70.
[38] William E. Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 267.
[39] Gideon Welles, *op. cit.*, II, 174. Entry of October 7, 1864.
[40] John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IX, 71.

it was repudiated by Frémont in his letter of acceptance. The National Grand Council of the Union League of America which had met the day before the convention also adopted a resolution favoring such a course. At the party's national convention the question had been presented before the sub-committee which was working on the resolutions, and it had originally reported favorably on including such a plank. In the full committee, however, the resolution encountered such opposition from the conservatives led by McKee Dunn of Indiana that it was ultimately rejected.[41]

The following day the convention was ready to proceed with the business of picking the candidates. Lincoln's renomination was already a certainty, but it was not accomplished without considerable delay, irregularities in procedure, and drama. The Radicals made one last attempt to voice their dissatisfaction and Lincoln's friends confusedly vied with each other for the honor of presenting his name. According to Noah Brooks some of the delegates literally flew at each other's throats in their anxiety to have the honor of nominating Lincoln. The most important claimants for this signal honor were political boss Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Governor William Stone of Iowa, Burton C. Cook of Illinois, and Lincoln's old friend from Springfield, Thompson Campbell. Campbell had been accepted in advance as the man who was to present Lincoln's name, but before he could take the floor, Cameron sent up to the clerk a written resolution which was to be read. When the document was read to the assembly it was discovered that it was a resolution demanding the renomination of Lincoln and Hamlin. For the next few moments pandemonium reigned as the delegates sent up loud huzzahs for their heroes while others shouted with rage at Cameron for having stolen a march on them.

Henry Raymond advocated making nominations by a call of states and that they should be made without noisy acclamation. Cook, not to be left out entirely from the proceedings, mounted upon a settee and cried, " Illinois once more presents to the nation the name of Abraham Lincoln—God bless him! " There was much shouting as Governor Stone succeeded in getting his share

[41] Grace J. Clarke, *George W. Julian* (Indianapolis, 1923), p. 257. One of Lincoln's correspondents told him that there was a plan afoot to claim that he had blocked a confiscation act and was, therefore, responsible for the high taxes in the North. The plank in the Cleveland platform was supposed to have been the first step in this plan. S. Holtslander to Abraham Lincoln, June 10, 1864, Robert T. Lincoln MSS, Library of Congress.

of the glory by seconding the motion. By this time, however, it was apparent that some of the din was being raised by those who disapproved of Lincoln's renomination. The Iowa governor hesitated for a moment in the confusion; Chairman Dennison seemed to lose his head, and then it was Lincoln's emissary, Senator James Lane of Kansas, who met the situation by shouting above the noise in his stentorian voice, "Stand your ground, Stone! Stand your ground! Great God, Stone, Kansas will stand by you!" [42] Within a few moments the crisis was passed and the turmoil subsided; only Campbell was still on his feet shouting and gesticulating, beside himself with anger at having been cheated out of his honor.[43]

The roll-call of states began and each cast a unanimous ballot for Lincoln. All proceeded well until the clerk reached Missouri; John F. Hume rose and cast the twenty-two votes of his state for Grant. The reaction to this move was instantaneous. "Such a storm of disapproval was never started in any convention that I ever attended," wrote one of the delegates in the Missouri contingent, "Delegates and lookers-on howled and howled. I can remember how I felt. I think my hair stood right up on end. After Hume announced the vote he sat down, and there we were, as solemn and determined as men could look, with the mob all around us demanding that the vote should be changed. I hadn't any doubt for a few moments but what we would be picked up, every man of us, and thrown out into the streets." [44] When the clerk announced the result of the roll-call, Hume arose again and moved that the nomination be declared unanimous. Lincoln was declared to have 506 votes and was duly nominated. The delegates went again into paroxysms of delight; flags were waved, the air was filled with flying hats and the brass band added to the din with a lively rendition of "Yankee Doodle." It was a long time before order was restored for the delegates continued to emit sporadic outbursts of what the administration press termed "hearty" and "spontaneous" cheering for their champion.[45]

When the celebration had subsided the convention turned its attention to the last remaining task—the selection of Lincoln's

[42] John Speer, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-284.
[43] Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1896), p. 154.
[44] Walter Stevens, "Lincoln and Missouri," *The Missouri Historical Review*, X (January, 1916), 110-11.
[45] Albany *Evening Journal*, June 9, 1864.

running mate. To fill this position there were many available choices, including Hannibal Hamlin, Andrew Johnson, Daniel S. Dickinson, and Joseph Holt. Circumstances seemed to dictate the selection of a war-Democrat such as Johnson or Dickinson; this move was calculated to win more votes, to prove conclusively that party lines had really been obliterated in the newly organized Union party, and to make a favorable impression abroad by having a candidate from one of the reconstructed states.[46]

Lincoln had made some overtures to Benjamin F. Butler earlier in the year in an attempt to get him on the ticket, but he had refused. At the same moment, however, Lincoln sent General Daniel E. Sickles to Nashville, Tennessee to investigate Johnson as a possible alternate choice. The Tennessean was a life-long Democrat, and a border state man. He was a staunch supporter of the Union and a friend of labor. The only black mark against him was the frequent charge of tyranny which had been raised against his administration in Tennessee, but Sickles reported that it was not true.[47] Lincoln decided to have the former tailor on the ballot with himself, and the machinery was set in motion to secure this objective. So certain did Johnson's chances seem to become that in March a dispatch from Nashville reported that his friends were confident he was to be nominated.[48]

Lincoln began to make his preference known to a few select friends. Probably Simon Cameron was the first to hear of the President's wishes; Cameron promised to attend the convention as a delegate from Pennsylvania and to bring that state into Johnson's favor. Abram Dittenhoefer, who visited Lincoln about ten days prior to the convention, later insisted the President told him he wanted Johnson.[49] On June 6th, another friend, S. Newton Pettis, came to see Lincoln and in reply to the query as to whom he wished as his running-mate, Lincoln was reputed to have said, "Governor Johnson of Tennessee."[50]

[46] Alexander K. McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* (New York, 1900), pp. 194-185; Harold Dudley, "The Election of 1864," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March, 1932), 509.

[47] Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson: Plebeian and Patriot* (New York, 1929), pp. 253-254.

[48] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, April 9, 1864; J. H. Mayburne to Lyman Trumbull, January 20, 1864, Lyman Trumbull MSS, Library of Congress.

[49] Abram Dittenhoefer, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[50] S. N. Pettis to Alexander McClure, July 20, 1891, quoted in Alexander McClure, *Lincoln and Men*, pp. 438-439.

As part of his plan to secure Johnson's nomination the President requested Alexander McClure to become a delegate-at-large from Pennsylvania instead of simply a delegate from his congressional district. This was done. Less than a week before the convention Lincoln asked him to vote for Johnson. McClure was somewhat surprised but agreed to do so. The President did not tell him he had already spoken to Cameron on this matter, and so both men went to the convention without knowing that they were working for the same objective.[51]

About the same time Lincoln also revealed his preference to two other friends, Ward Lamon and Leonard Swett. The latter did not approve of the President's choice and protested: " Lincoln, if it were known in New England that you are in favor of leaving Hamlin off the ticket it would raise the devil among the Yankees. . . ." [52] Finally he yielded to Lincoln's persuasion and consented to go to Baltimore as a member of the Illinois delegation and to work for Johnson. He asked Lincoln if it were permissible to tell the delegates that he desired to have Johnson on the ticket. Lincoln said it was not, but added, " I will address a letter to Lamon here embodying my views which you and McClure and other friends may use if it be found absolutely necessary; otherwise it may be better that I shall not appear actively on the stage of this theatre. . . ." [53] Before the convention met Lincoln also imparted the same information to William Seward, Henry Raymond, editor of the New York *Times*, and perhaps even to James Lane.[54]

At the convention Simon Cameron sought out McClure and declared that he did not believe Hamlin could be elected. McClure, of course, agreed. Cameron then suggested that Pennsylvania should cast a unanimous vote for Hamlin during the roll-call, but should change to a unanimous vote for Johnson when the call was completed. McClure was elated over this suggestion; both men were probably amazed at the ease with which they persuaded each other to support Johnson, neither knowing that Lincoln had enlisted both their services to secure this objective. After agree-

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-117; Alexander McClure, *Lincoln as a Politician* (Putnam, Conn., 1916), pp. 18-19.
[52] Ward Lamon to Alexander McClure, August 16, 1891, quoted in Alexander McClure, *Lincoln and Men*, p. 446.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[54] John Speer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

ing on this matter they worked among the members of the Pennsylvania delegation to put over the plan. All consented except Thad Stevens, who asked, "Can't you find a candidate for Vice-President without going down into a d--d rebel province?" [55] At the convention Cameron showed his shrewdness. He did not want the responsibility for having defeated Hamlin nor did he desire the President to be blamed. He moved that Lincoln and Hamlin be renominated by acclamation. When objections were raised this resolution was tabled, as Cameron had expected it to be.[56]

There was also the New York delegation to be considered for there was much support being given to her native son, Daniel S. Dickinson. The Radicals led by Lyman Tremaine wanted him. Before the convention Chauncey Depew and W. H. Robertson called on Seward who told them that a war-Democrat would have to be nominated. He suggested Johnson and said to them, "You can quote me to the delegates, and they will believe I express the opinion of the President. While the President wishes to take no part in the nomination for vice-President, yet he favors Mr. Johnson." [57] At the first informal meeting of the New York delegation a ballot was taken which gave Hamlin 20 votes, Dickinson 16, Tremaine 6, and Johnson 8. The caucus adjourned and Dickinson's friends began to solicit the other delegations in an effort to have their man selected. Weed and Raymond worked to prevent this for they knew that it was essentially a movement designed to force Seward out of the cabinet. They realized that if a New Yorker became the Vice-President the possession of the secretaryship of state by another from that state was impossible. Weed and Raymond had helped engineer the admission of the delegations from Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas in return for a promise to oppose Dickinson.[58] Every effort was now put forth to smash the Dickinson movement.

At the second meeting of the New York delegation, Tremaine

[55] Alexander McClure, *Our Presidents*, p. 186.

[56] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Cameron kept his intentions so well hidden that after the convention one of Johnson's friends wrote to tell him that Cameron had opposed his selection, when actually it was Cameron who had done much to secure his choice. J. B. Bingham to Andrew Johnson, June 26, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

[57] Chauncey Depew, *My Memories of Eighty Years* (New York, 1922), pp. 60-61.

[58] Glyndon Van Deusen, *Thurlow Weed: Wizard of the Lobby* (Boston, 1947), pp. 307-308.

delivered an address, and while he was speaking the Weed-Seward men polled the members and found they still controlled a majority. Raymond was about to suggest that Hamlin should be supported by New York when he learned that Massachusetts would not have him.[59] Senator Charles Sumner was alleged to have decided to defeat both Seward and his senatorial enemy, William Fessenden of Maine. Sumner supported Dickinson because he felt that if the Vice-President came from New York, Seward would no longer be able to hold the cabinet post; and if Hamlin returned to Maine he would probably defeat Fessenden for the senatorial seat.[60] Raymond used his influence for Johnson during the final vote of the New York delegation. It resulted in Johnson getting 32 votes, Dickinson 28, and Hamlin 6; it was agreed that this would be announced at the convention as the vote of New York.[61]

Lot M. Morrill, who was acting as Hamlin's campaign manager, did not realize that his man was to be beaten.[62] Cameron was supposed to have "delivered" Pennsylvania, but as has been seen, this vote was to be switched to Johnson at the end of the roll-call. New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin were also considered in Hamlin's column. Illinois was also informally supporting him so as "not to commit Mr. Lincoln," while Iowa gave him half her vote. Massachusetts was also considered in his favor.[63] The day before the convention opened, Ward Lamon wired to Lincoln that Hamlin was unquestionably ahead, and probably on the same day Nicolay sent word to Hay that Hamlin seemed to be the man; Dickinson and Johnson were, in his opinion, without backers.[64]

The Illinois delegation was undecided which way to jump. Many men had approached Nicolay in an effort to learn whether the President had given him some instructions on the Vice-Presidential matter as he had in the case of the Missouri Radicals. The secretary could only reply that as far as he knew Lincoln was

[59] Charles E. Hamlin, *The Life and Time of Hannibal Hamlin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1899), p. 481.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 464-469, 480.
[61] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48; DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, *A Political History of the State of New York* (New York, 1909), III, 94.
[62] Charles E. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 481.
[63] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
[64] Ward Lamon to Abraham Lincoln, June 7, 1864, Robert Todd Lincoln MSS; John Nicolay to John Hay, June (?), 1864, quoted in Helen Nicolay, *Lincoln's Secretary* (New York, 1949), pp. 207-208.

not committing himself to anyone.[65] Ward Lamon was standing beside Nicolay at the time with Lincoln's letter on Johnson in his pocket, but he said nothing.[66] Leonard Swett, who was a member of the Illinois delegation and also knew that Lincoln wanted Johnson, sought to protect Lincoln by declaring himself in favor of Joseph Holt, a war-Democrat from Kentucky.[67] Burton Cook turned toward Swett and eyed him doubtfully; he suspected that Lincoln's old friend was doubledealing and he asked Nicolay to inquire confidentially of Lincoln whether Swett was to be trusted. Lincoln's assurances that Swett was all right failed to convince him, and he hurried to Washington for a personal interview. Lincoln reassured him, and Cook left the capital convinced that the President hoped to see Hamlin chosen.[68]

On the first ballot taken June 8th, Johnson polled 200 votes, Dickinson 108, and Hamlin 150 with the remainder scattered among several minor choices. At a critical moment in the balloting Horace Maynard of Tennessee arose and delivered a rousing speech in favor of Johnson. According to Burton Cook and Theodore Tilton of the New York *Independent* this speech did more than anything else to sway the delegates toward the Tennessean.[69] Governor Stone also jumped to his feet when the clerk called for the Iowa vote and cast her sixteen votes for Johnson. In doing this he completely disregarded the delegation spokesman, Daniel D. Chase, and also the fact that the majority of the delegates were opposed to Johnson. Before Chase could get the floor to denounce Stone's move, Kentucky announced the change of her vote to Johnson and the irresistible tide had begun.[70] As state after state swung over to Johnson it became apparent that nothing could check the torrent; Lyman Tremaine of New York moved that his selection be made unanimous, and it was so done.

Lincoln had realized his goal; Johnson was to be his running-mate. McClure, Cameron, Swett, Lamon, and Raymond had done their work well. Raymond's biographer gave him most of the credit for having maneuvered matters so that Johnson's name was

[65] John Nicolay to Charles Hamlin, March 3, 1897, quoted in Charles E. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 471. Nicolay insisted Lincoln preferred Hamlin.
[66] Alexander McClure, *Lincoln as a Politician*, p. 20.
[67] Alexander McClure, *Lincoln and Men*, p. 109.
[68] George F. Milton, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45; John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, IX, 72-73.
[69] Charles E. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-472, 476.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 477-479.

presented at the right moment.[71] Gurowski reported a current rumor in Washington that Raymond had been the real master mover at the convention and was to be rewarded for his services with the French legation.[72] Most of the blame, however, fell upon men who were not guilty. Seward was accused of having defeated Hamlin for renomination, while Gideon Welles, who bore no great affection for Hamlin, was also accused of having engineered his overthrow.[73] Connecticut cast her twelve votes for Johnson, and it was for that reason Welles was accused of being the prime mover of the anti-Hamlin crusade. The secretary of the navy insisted, however, that Hamlin's friends were ascribing to him " influence which [he did] not possess and . . . revenge or malevolence [he] never felt." [74]

As for Lincoln he was greatly pleased by the selection. Judge Pettis, who was with him ten minutes after the news of the nomination had been flashed to Washington, reported that he expressed great satisfaction at the selection.[75] Among the Republicans who had opposed the President the reaction to Johnson's selection was varied. George Luther Stearns wrote that Johnson's presence on the ballot would reconcile him to accepting Lincoln.[76] James Blaine, who came from Hamlin's own state and might consequently have been disappointed at the choice, said that he felt Johnson's nomination had added additional strength to the ticket.[77] George Julian, on the other hand, voiced the feeling of many when he said that Johnson was a poor choice because " he did not reside in the United States " and did not subscribe to the principles embodied in the platform.[78]

All that remained for the delegates to do was to communicate the results of the convention officially to the chief executive. A committee headed by Governor Dennison came on June 9th to inform him of his nomination. A formal notification written by

[71] Augustus Maverick, *Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press* (Hartford, Conn,. 1870), p. 168; Don C. Seitz, *Lincoln the Politician* (New York, 1931), pp. 422-423.

[72] Adam Gurowski, *op. cit.*, III, 254. Entry of June 10, 1864.

[73] *Ibid.*, III, 254. Entry of June 11, 1864.

[74] Gideon Welles, *op. cit.*, II, 47. Entries of June 8-9, 1864.

[75] S. N. Pettis to Andrew Johnson, June 10, 1864; George Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, June 11, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

[76] George Stearns to Andrew Johnson, June 9, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

[77] James Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884), I, 522.

[78] Grace C. Clarke, *op. cit.*, p. 258; George Julian, *Political Recollections, 1840-1872* (Chicago, 1884), p. 243.

George William Curtis was sent on June 14th. The President replied in a brief letter and stated that he "heartily approved" the platform adopted by the convention.[79]

The entire convention had aroused little attention; the public mind had been prepared for the results by the previous action of the legislatures and the local conventions and mass meetings.[80] "Except for the nomination of Vice-President, the whole proceedings were a matter of course," wrote Welles, while Lincoln's secretary Hay noted in his diary that it had been a quiet affair. "Little drinking—little quarreling—an earnest intention to simply register the expressed will of the people and go home," he insisted.[81] Gurowski, on the other hand, saw the convention in a different light. He wrote:

> It would be interesting to make analytical statistics of the Baltimore Convention. Then it would be found out how many officeholders, postmasters, contractors, lobbyists, expectants, pap-editors, composed it. Then find out how many bargains were made in advance, how many promissory notes were delivered, and similar facts, and the true character of that convention would be understood.[82]

Though the selection had been unanimous and the cheering loud and allegedly spontaneous, there were some who detected that beneath the surface were smoldering embers of discontent among the Radicals. Edward Bates was wary of these portents and confessed the results of the convention both surprised and mortified him. He claimed the renomination of Lincoln had been carried out in "a manner and with attendant circumstances, as if the object were to defeat their own nomination. They were all (nearly) instructed to vote for Mr. Lincoln, but many of them hated to do it, and 'only kept the word of promise to the ear' doing their worst to break it to the hope."[83] Word reached Andrew Johnson that such men as Henry Davis, Thad Stevens, and Representative Henry Blow of Missouri were dissatisfied with the ticket and desired its defeat.[84] It was apparent, perhaps, that there were still dangerous shoals and breakers ahead.

[79] It is difficult to agree with Sumner who called the letter of acceptance "the best he ever wrote." Charles Sumner, *Works* (Boston, 1894), IX, 127.

[80] Frank B. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[81] Gideon Welles,, *op. cit.*, II, 47. Entry of June 9, 1864; Tyler Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Entry of June 6, 1864.

[82] Adam Gurowski, *op. cit.*, III, 243. Entry of June 10, 1864.

[83] Howard K. Beale (ed.), *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (Washington, 1933), pp. 374-375. Entry of June 10, 1864.

[84] J. B. Bingham to Andrew Johnson, June 26, 1864, Andrew Johnson MSS.

The convention had hardly adjourned when a movement was underway, propelled primarily by the depressing military news from Virginia, to remove Lincoln from the nomination and to call another convention. Bates was correct; on the horizon of the sunny sky a small cloud was gathering which was soon to grow to menacing proportions. There was danger that some of the dissatisfied might yet achieve their desire to replace Lincoln with a radical candidate. The party was moving into the hands of the Radicals; they had been forced by the pressure of public opinion and the office holders to accept a candidate whom they did not desire. They were determined, however, to push their radical program of reconstruction to its completion and did so after Lincoln's untimely death.

THE BALTIMORE PUBLIC BATHS AND THEIR FOUNDER, THE REV. THOMAS M. BEADENKOPF

By Anne Beadenkopf

IT is difficult today for the person of average means to visualize the scope of the function of the Baltimore Public Baths. Most of our homes contain a minimum of one bath, while the traveler almost invariably demands a bath with his room in a hotel. It does not occur to us that there are thousands of people of limited means to whom the free public baths are the only source of bodily cleanliness. At the turn of the last century, when only the well-to-do could afford private baths, the need for public bathing facilities, in order to maintain an adequate standard of public health, was far greater. Among the few who saw the dangers in a crowded city arising from poor bathing facilities and who were willing to undertake the task of organizing public opinion was the Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf. He led the vanguard in the civic movement which culminated in the establishment of the Public Baths of Baltimore over a half century ago.

Born in 1855, Thomas M. Beadenkopf was the eighth child of Martin and Emmaline Beadenkopf. As one of a family of ten, he was accustomed from an early age to assume responsibility, for he and his brothers supplemented the family income by "serving" a *Sun* paper route which required them to be on the job at four in the morning. In academic pursuits Thomas M. Beadenkopf was a bright, studious boy and excelled in all his studies, graduating from Baltimore City College in 1871, two days after his sixteenth birthday. For the highest scholastic average, he was awarded the Peabody Prize of $100. Desiring more education and realizing he could obtain a four-year scholarship to Johns Hopkins University, he worked at odd jobs to earn enough money to enable him to pursue his studies. At Johns Hopkins he majored in lan-

guages and mathematics. He was graduated from the University in 1880, where he was very popular and made many friends, among whom was the late President Woodrow Wilson. A charter member of the Alpha Chi Chapter, Beta Theta Pi, he was also a member of the City Club of Baltimore.

His eldest brother, William, a successful business man of Wilmington, Delaware, offered him a position in his leather factory, with the promise that he would ultimately be made a member of the firm. But Thomas, with his agile, retentive and highly imaginative mind, combined with his clear speech, felt called to the ministry, and entered the Boston School of Theology where he remained for two years. From there he went to Yale University for three years, obtaining his Divinity Degree in 1885. While at Yale University, along with many struggling students, he earned his board and room working as a waiter.

His first pastorate was in North Waterford, Maine, where he successfully served in the Congregational Church for five years. In 1891 he accepted the pastorate of the Canton Congregational Church, Baltimore, Maryland. Knowing well the needs, both spiritual and economic, in this locality, he labored most earnestly for his people for fourteen years. Always having the welfare and uplift of the poorer classes at heart, he established numerous night classes in the rear rooms of his church, thus giving many poor boys an opportunity for an education that would otherwise have been denied them. Quite a few of them entered the ministry and others followed Mr. Beadenkopf's example in giving special training to boys.[1]

Prior to 1893, while calling on his parishioners, he learned of the inadequate bathing facilities in their small homes, for very few of these houses had a bathroom. Realizing the advantage of providing recreational facilities for boys in this congested neighborhood, Mr. Beadenkopf asked himself, "Why not start a public bathing beach here such as they have in other countries?"[2] This was the beginning of the Public Baths in Baltimore, inaugurated by a man determined to give every boy a chance.[3]

[1] Edgar Goodman, "Necrology," *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*, IV (January, 1916), 163-165.

[2] Baltimore *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909, p. 15. This issue of the *Sun* contained a feature article on the work of the Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf which the author found extremely helpful.

[3] *Ibid.*

Canton had a fine waterfront, but it was all private property, and the boys who ventured to use it for bathing purposes took long chances of being haled into the station house by a policeman or private watchman, for the watchmen and policemen were very vigilant. He tried to enlist the cooperation of influential members of the locality for help. A few contributed small amounts, but many laughed at him. Regardless of all discouragement, however, he approached Walter B. Brooks, President of the Canton Company, begging the use of an abandoned wharf on the Canton Waterfront for his proposed bathing beach. Immediately after obtaining the use of the abandoned wharf, he wrote Mayor Latrobe asking permission to open a public bathing beach.[4] Then he erected a few crude cabins as bath houses, installed shower baths, and hired an old man, a native of Canton nicknamed "Daddy Lyons" as guard to protect the boys from drowning and police interference.[5] The expenses were met with funds he had collected from the few interested neighbors, and money he contributed from his own limited means. These primitive facilities represented the first public bathing system in Baltimore. The Canton Beach was opened to the public on July 29, 1893, with a full equipment of ropes, floats, and suits.[6] Little handbills were distributed in advance announcing the opening of "Baltimore's First Bathing Beach."[7] At the end of the summer it was very evident that the Founder's idea was a huge success for the 1500 to 1600 bathers who participated.

But Thomas M. Beadenkopf was only partly satisfied, he wanted to enlarge his plans. He discussed the subject with his brother, George, an executive of The Consolidated Gas Company of Baltimore City. His brother suggested that he enlist the help of some prominent men in the city. Among those approached were Eugene Levering, William H. Morriss, Secretary of the YMCA, and Dr. James Carey Thomas. These men were very enthusiastic, for they saw the strong points of his idea when it was presented to them. They knew that public baths were popular in the Old World and were aware that Free Public Baths had been open in New York since 1891, the first in this country, and since then many had been opened in other cities.[8]

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *A Historical Sketch of the Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, Maryland, 1900-1925* (Balto., 1925), p. 28.

[6] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909, p. 15. [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*

Since "Baltimore's First Bathing Beach at Canton" had been successfully demonstrated, early in 1894 this group of public spirited men decided to approach the city officials and urge them to take action for the establishment of permanent public baths.

Canton Bathing Beach!

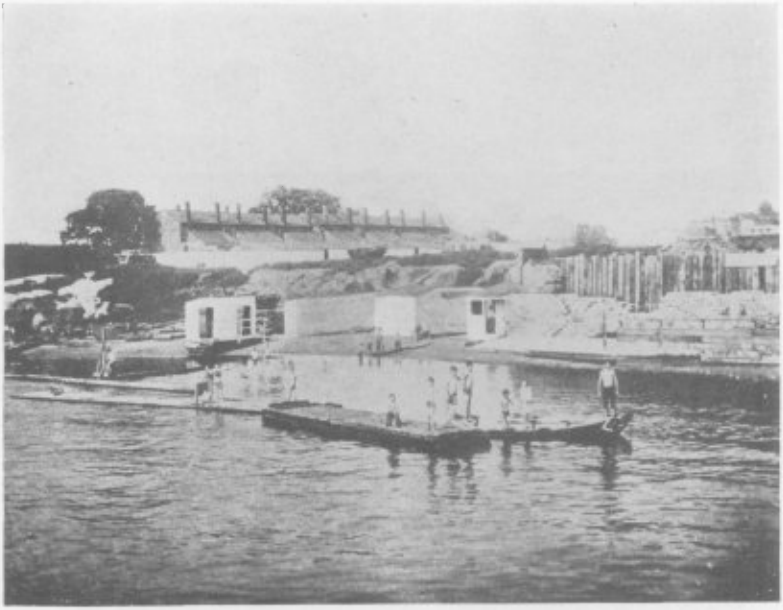
West End of 2nd Ave.

This Beach has been cleared of rocks, and partly covered with pebbles, making a good bottom.

No charge will be made to bathers who bring their own suits; to others suits will be furnished at 10 cents for half-hour.

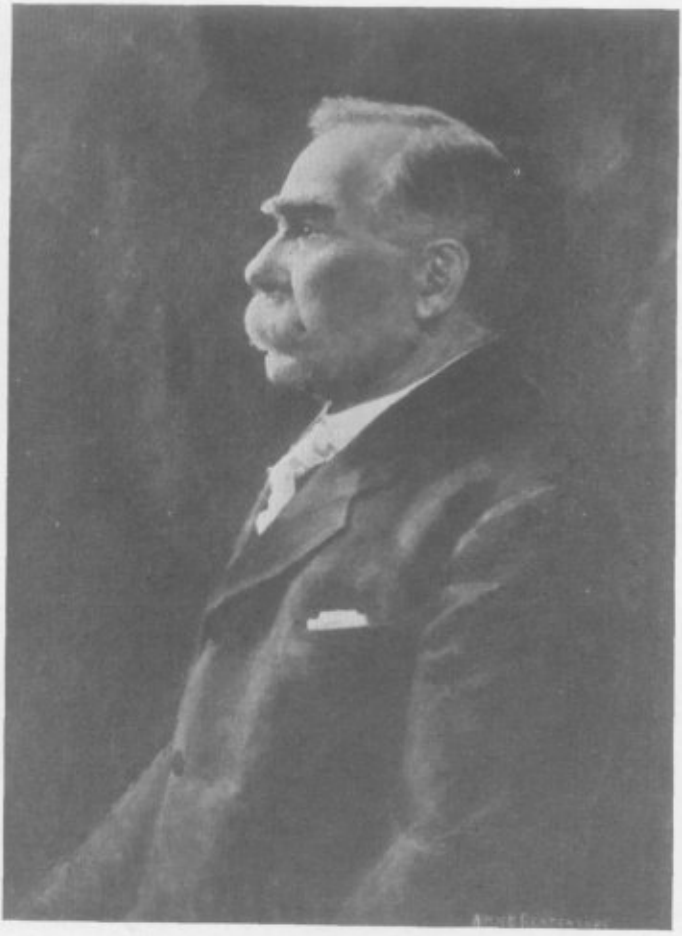
Will Open on Saturday, July 29th, 1893

The city officially decided to give support to Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf's idea, and at Mayor Latrobe's suggestion a Bath Commission was created, composed of the following persons: Eugene Levering, President, Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf, Secretary, and Dr. James Carey Thomas, and the presidents of the First and



BALTIMORE'S FIRST BATHING BEACH, CANTON, 1893

PORTABLE BATH HOUSE USED IN BALTIMORE, 1907



THE REVEREND THOMAS M. BEADENKOPF

1855-1915

Second Branches of the City Council were made members. An appropriation of $500 was granted, and three bathing beaches were established at Canton, Winans Beach, and Gwynns Falls. During the summer 23,787 bathers patronized the beaches.[9]

Desiring to see the European Baths in operation, the Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf decided that he would make a bicycle tour through parts of Europe during 1895. He wanted especially to see the German baths in operation. When he told his brother William about his proposed bicycle trip, his brother was greatly interested and insisted upon financing the trip if Thomas would look up their father's relatives in Germany. He agreed and obtained a second class berth on a large steamer bound for Europe, and, taking his bicycle, was determined to make the trip as economical as possible, using his brother's money only while actually in Germany seeking information regarding their father's relatives.

England was his first landing place. He rode through the rugged countryside of England and into Wales stopping there awhile to see the relatives of his many Welsh parishioners of Canton Congregational Church. The Welsh people responded to his visit and presented him with a small handsome walnut secretary to commemorate his visit. He left Wales for France, Switzerland, and finally Germany. In the meantime, he wrote interesting accounts of his travels for the Baltimore Sunpapers as agreed. After inspecting the German baths, he made inquiries regarding his father's relatives and found several cousins, one of whom was a Burgermeister, or Mayor of Lehnheim, Germany. His relatives urged him to remain in Lehnheim; however, he declined and returned to America.

From 1895 to 1898 the summer bathing places were maintained by the annual appropriation of $500 from the city, with the exception of one year, 1896, when no appropriation whatever was granted. The bathing places were sustained wholly by private contributions during this period. The patronage varied from 25,000 to 40,000 bathers a season.[10] The Commission reported in the years 1896, 1897 and 1898 to the city, urging that permanent year-round baths be opened. The cooperation of the Maryland Public Health Association was obtained by the Bath Commission and pressure was immediately applied for city action,

[9] *Free Public Bath Commission*, pp. 3-5.

[10] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909; *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1912*, p. 6.

by both these organizations. The death of Dr. James Carey Thomas at this time made a vacancy in the Commission, which was filled by appointing William H. Morriss, who had been an enthusiastic unofficial worker since 1894.[11]

On November 27, 1898, a public meeting was held at McCoy Hall under the auspices of the Maryland Public Health Association. Mayor Josiah Quincy of Boston, Massachusetts, and others, spoke at this meeting, describing the public baths of other cities. The Baltimore Commission showed views of Baltimore's three outdoor baths which were supported by the city's appropriation of $500. The establishment of year round baths in Baltimore was strongly urged. There was absolutely no financial response on the part of the public, so the Bath Commissioners decided to advertise in the city papers and also to secure editorial endorsement from all the dailies.[12] From December 7 to 10 the following advertisement was published:

PUBLIC BATHS, SHALL BALTIMORE HAVE THEM?

The recent meeting at McCoy Hall at which Mayor Quincy of Boston, Massachusetts, and F. B. Kirkbride of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, showed what is being done in those cities in the matter of public baths aroused great interest. Baltimore's showing was almost grotesque in contrast. The question is, shall Baltimore continue to occupy this position? Boston spends $35,000 annually for public baths; New York, $48,000; Philadelphia, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, and even Wilmington spend large sums for this purpose. Baltimore appropriates $500 a year toward maintenance of summer baths. Baths open all the year round, equipped with hot and cold water, and accessible to all who are now deprived of these privileges, are a necessity. In some sections of our city, bathrooms are not provided in ninety per cent of homes. The Baltimore Commissioners are ready to open such baths if money is provided. They have secured in cash and pledges about $600, but it will take $2,000 to carry out even the most modest plan. Subscriptions to this fund are earnestly solicited.[13]

Strong editorials in all the city papers supported this announcement.[14] The slogan was, "You see what Boston has; you see what Baltimore *has not*." This, it must be remembered, was before the Plumbing Law, which requires a bathtub in every home, went into effect. Actually at this time, in some places in Baltimore, there were 15 to 20 men and women to one bathroom.

[11] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 5.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[13] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, pp. 6-7.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

A short time after the newspaper campaign the Commission learned that Henry Walters was interested in public baths.[15] Mr. Walters had just returned from Egypt, where he had witnessed much suffering and blindness resulting from filth and squalor in the poorer sections of towns, and it was pointed out to him that these sections were the places where the greatest epidemics started. He promised himself that if in his home town, Baltimore, opportunity should arise to help his neighbors to obtain health and happiness, through cleanliness, he would assuredly make a contribution towards it. His investigations after he returned to Baltimore, disclosed the fact that in the poorer sections, especially in the neighborhoods where the foreign peoples lived, there was room for great improvement in sanitary conditions. In some houses from 100 to 150 persons were congregated without means of keeping clean.[16] Mr. Walters was certainly in a very receptive mood when, shortly after his return to Baltimore, the Bath Commission approached him for a contribution. He was exceedingly interested and asked that detailed information be furnished him as quickly as possible.[17]

In the meantime Thomas M. Beadenkopf, the founder of the Baths, was assigned to go to Boston to get additional facts and to secure the cooperation of experts there.[18] A letter to Henry Walters reporting a study of the baths of Boston, Chicago, and New York, quickly followed. On February 2, 1899, Mr. Walters stated that he was willing to erect three bathhouses in Baltimore, each to be known as "Walters Public Baths." He desired that, when erected, these baths be turned over to the city and the cost of maintenance be assumed by it.[19]

Walters Public Baths No. 1 was built at 131 South High Street in a congested part of the city. This location was selected primarily for actual cleansing rather than recreation. Finally the important day in May, 1900 arrived, with its opening exercises, when the donor, Henry Walters, gave the handsome building to the city. The success of the bathhouse was beyond anyone's wildest imagination. The waiting room was crowded at all times and long lines of patrons patiently awaited their turn for admis-

[15] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 5.
[16] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, p. 17.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[18] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 7.
[19] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, p. 17.

sion. Sailors and others working on ships from various foreign countries, stranded in Baltimore while their ships were being overhauled, were among grateful patrons. For a few cents they could obtain a bath, wash their clothes in the laundry and dry them in the dryer. Many of the patrons belonged to the poorer class and some were wharf laborers. Thousands of them were men living in cheap, crowded lodging houses, men out of work, hoboes who were not able to send their clothes to be washed; in fact many owned only the clothes on their backs.[20] As the *Sun* stated as recently as 1940, "the laundry department had something of the appearance of an intramural nudist colony."[21] Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf told of one occasion when an old man went to Walters Public Baths No. 1 and when he returned home clean and happy, his wife asked him critically where his vest was. He couldn't find it anywhere. Two weeks later he went to the bathhouse again. "I have found my vest, wife," he said on his return home. "Where was it?" she asked. "Under my shirt," he replied.[22]

At this time (1900) the city appointed a Commission, composed of seven members, to operate the Baths: Eugene Levering, Chairman; William H. Morriss, Treasurer; Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf, Secretary; Dr. Mary Sherwood, Dr. Joseph E. Gichner, Dr. John S. Fulton, and George W. Corner, Jr.[23]

As early as 1896, while the bathing system was in its infancy, attention was called to the great need of bathing facilities in congested neighborhoods where children needed to be taught habits of hygiene and cleanliness. With the opening of the first bathhouse in 1900, facilities were provided and efforts were made to encourage bathing among school children. Small cards with a design of a boy carrying his shoes across his shoulders were widely distributed to the children to encourage attendance. As a substitute, because there were no school baths, the Bath Commission opened Walters Public Baths to all school children on Saturday mornings. The result more than justified the experiment as large numbers of children availed themselves of the privilege.

In 1902 a letter was addressed to the School Board offering free baths to all children sent by their teachers at any time. Many

[20] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[21] *Evening Sun*, July 17, 1940, Editorial Page.
[22] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[23] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 7.

responded. Year after year the Commission urged the installation of baths in the public schools. In fact Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf and Dr. Joseph E. Gichner, who was equally interested and active in trying to convince the School Board that shower baths should be installed, frequently made appeals with letters and also with illustrated lectures on hygiene and cleanliness, showing contrasting pictures. These lectures were generally given by Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf and Dr. Joseph E. Gichner, and although these two lecturers eventually convinced the School Board that shower baths in the schools were to be considered a necessity rather than a luxury, to promote health and cleanliness, it was not until April, 1913, that the first shower baths were installed, in Public School No. 6 on South Ann Street.[24] The patronage was composed of children of various ages and the capable attendants were kind to all these children, helping the tiny tots to dress and undress, and sewing buttons on their clothes when needed.[25]

In 1902 Walters Public Baths No. 2, located in a manufacturing neighborhood, on Columbia Avenue, was opened to the public.[26] This handsome building was very much like Walters Public Baths No. 1, and just as efficient. At Walters Public Baths No. 2 the laundries were very popular with the women patrons, who enjoyed the privilege of doing their family wash, while at Walters Public Baths No. 1 the laundries were popular with the men. Many working girls having no means to pay for their personal laundry found their way to Walters Public Baths No. 2 and availed themselves of this privilege to keep their clothes clean. A large portion of all the patrons at No. 2 Baths were Lithuanians.[27]

There were several playgrounds without bathing facilities in the vicinity of Walters Public Baths No. 2, which were maintained by the Playground Association. The young people at these playgrounds were admitted to Walters Public Baths No. 2 and 25,000 boys and girls enjoyed refreshing baths each season as a result.[28]

Henry Walters was interested in presenting a third bathhouse to the city. The Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf requested him to permit this bathhouse to be used by colored people. The city officials fully

[24] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 20.
[25] *Fortieth Anniversary of the Free Public Bath Commission, 1940*, p. 9.
[26] *Free Public Bath Commission, 1900-1925*, p. 9.
[27] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[28] *Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1909*, p. 7.

understood that Henry Walters planned to contribute the building known as Walters Public Baths No. 3 to the city, and that the city was expected to assume its maintenance. These officials started a controversy declaring their opposition was due to the fact that colored people would not use the baths, that their maintenance would be a waste of the city's money. However, Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf, with his faith in Americans of all origins, insisted that our colored Americans should have an equal chance with white people for cleanliness and recreation. This faith argued his point more eloquently than any verbal sermon of religious depth.

Walters Public Baths No. 3 was erected and opened at 1018 Argyle Avenue in 1905. It was immediately frequented by colored people of discrimination such as clergymen, teachers and members of societies.[29] Their support influenced and educated others who learned to respect the importance of personal cleanliness, especially those living in crowded rooms who had not previously accepted cleanliness as a necessity. This program of democracy was a fine object lesson to both white and colored people, and it developed an attitude of good will, tolerance and better understanding for all.

By this time the great success of the Baltimore Baths gave the city a national reputation. From many parts of the United States and Canada frequent inquiries were made regarding the proper construction of swimming pools, shower baths, laundries and later the Portable Baths. For instance, Richmond, Virginia, after thoroughly studying Baltimore baths as compared to baths in other cities, decided to adopt the Baltimore system.[30] Later, New York City Bathhouses began installing laundry facilities patterned after Baltimore's. An interesting letter was received from Tientsin, China, requesting the plans of one of the Baltimore baths for use in the erection of similar establishments there. " Something of the kind," said the writer, " is a great need here, for the people are so poor and the houses so small that it is useless to preach personal cleanliness to a great many of them, because they have no place where they could get a bath if they wanted it. I think no better form of social service could be done than to introduce

[29] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1906*, p. 6.
[30] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.

something of the type you and others have in Baltimore in these bathhouses." [31]

The popularity of the Baths frequently caused Thomas M. Beadenkopf some amusement. When introduced to an out-of-town stranger, he was described as Founder of the Baltimore Baths and Pastor of a Congregational Church. He responded by saying that he had often heard that godliness and cleanliness were closely related, but that it was most unusual to hear cleanliness placed ahead of godliness.

For some years all the swimming pools were controlled by the Bath Commission. The park pools were established because the Commission foresaw that pollution would eventually render the bathing beaches unsuitable for use.[32] Patterson Park pool was very popular and it is probably one of the largest artificial pools in the country. In 1906 the Bath Commission made personal contacts with the Park Board requesting them to construct a large open air gymnasium and a field house along with the swimming pool. Their request was granted. The bathing pool, open air gymnasium and field house in Patterson Park attracted thousands of patrons from all over the city.[33] Each summer Rev. T. M. Beadenkopf appealed to the East Baltimore Business Men's Association for contributions to help him provide a " safe and sane Fourth of July celebration " for the people at this beautiful setting. This Association responded generously. The celebrations consisted of an afternoon performance at the pool by some of the Public Bath employees, then a refreshing supper was served, and fireworks were displayed at night. This free and unique entertainment was enjoyed by large crowds, and again the useful and colorful leadership of Thomas M. Beadenkopf endeared him to all peoples. Games, athletics, and swimming also made Patterson Park very outstanding in popularity. For three summer months each season a swimming instructor was engaged, and, as a result, interest was aroused in swimming among the non-swimmers. Regular instruction in swimming was given at four bathing stations: Patterson Park, Canton, Gwynn Falls, and Locust Point. Carroll Park, Clifton Park, and Druid Hill Park all proved to be exceedingly attractive and well patronized.

[31] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1913*, p. 13.
[32] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 11.
[33] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1906*, pp. 10-11.

In 1911 shower baths were installed at Roosevelt Park Recreation Center, in cooperation with the Recreation House which had been built from funds raised by the Hampden Woodberry Neighborhood Association. These baths were constantly used by various gymnasium classes and athletic teams engaged in field sports.[34]

In 1904, the Bath Commission suggested to the city the necessity of providing public comfort stations. The suggestion was made again and again and finally, in 1907, the Mayor and City Council appropriated money for the construction of Baltimore's first comfort station at Market Place and Lombard Street. It was opened in 1908 and in the first eight months accommodated 225,000 patrons.[35]

During a prolonged siege of intense heat in 1907, the Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf's imagination again traveled to the crowded, congested districts of Baltimore. He finally conceived a plan which would bring relief to many people suffering from the summer's heat. He could visualize thousands of people getting a refreshing shower bath in a gospel tent which could be quickly rigged up close to a city fire plug, and in which shower equipment could be installed. To him the introduction of the gospel tent was simple, regardless of the fact that it was predominantly used for evangelical purposes. The Rev. Mr. Beadenkopf didn't ask Henry Walters for any more expensive buildings; a great many would have been necessary to accommodate all the crowded districts he had in mind. The Gospel Tent as a Portable Bathhouse was undoubtedly the answer—taking the baths to the people in crowded districts—and they furnished relief to many thousands of patrons.[36] Eugene Levering and others urged Mr. Beadenkopf to have the Portable Baths named "Beadenkopf Baths," but he modestly declined the honor.

That the need and value of these Portable Baths were appreciated is evidenced by the fact that inquiries regarding their use, construction and general subject matter came from New York; New Bedford, Massachusetts; Newark, New Jersey; Atlanta, Georgia; Louisville, Kentucky; Paducah, Kentucky; Kansas City, Missouri; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Racine, Wisconsin; Omaha, Nebraska; Harriman, Tennessee and other cities.[37] In fact the

[34] *A Historical Sketch of the Free Public Bath Commission, op. cit.*, p. 19.
[35] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year, 1908*, p. 8.
[36] *Sun*, Aug. 1, 1909.
[37] *Annual Report of the Fere Public Bath Commission for the Year 1909*, p. 10.

" Portables " also served as hygienic and economical baths in camps, playgrounds, and small towns unable to maintain elaborate baths.

In 1909 and 1910 more than 33,000 children were served each summer in the Portable Baths. The Board of Estimates appropriated $1,000 for six or eight " Summer Portable Baths " to be operated at Fells Point, Canton, South Baltimore, Hampden and Woodberry.[38]

Later, more practical wooden portables were constructed, and these were placed in locations where baths were most needed. They contributed to the health and well being of school children by giving them the joy of a refreshing and healthful shower bath. These baths placed a strong emphasis on the need for school baths. They were also used as experimental baths before permanent bathhouses were erected. As a result, the corner of West and Marshall Streets was selected as a desirable location for a permanent bathhouse when Henry Walters offered to present a fourth building to the city. Known as Walters Public Baths No. 4, it was opened in 1911.[39] The use of portable baths also aided in selecting the site for Greenmount Avenue Baths and Comfort Station, which is in close proximity to Belair Market, a busy thoroughfare, and has a very large patronage.[40] These were the first baths constructed by the city. They were opened to the public in 1912.

The usefulness of the Portable Baths was successfully demonstrated, first, in taking the baths to all peoples; second, as experimental baths to test the need before the erection of permanent buildings; and, third, to encourage the installation of baths in our public schools. Since, however, the public schools now have shower baths which are open to the public, the Portable Baths have ceased making contribution, and have not been used since 1923.[41]

Early in 1912 Thomas M. Beadenkopf and two other Commissioners were asked to attend a World Conference on Hygiene and Public Baths at the Hague in Holland. " Portable Baths " was assigned to the Rev. Beadenkopf for his subject. Arriving at the

[38] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1908*, p. 10.
[39] *Free Public Bath Commission*, pp. 17-9.
[40] *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Free Public Bath Commission of Baltimore, 1900-1925*, p. 11.
[41] *Ibid.*, u. 17.

Hague a day before the scheduled conference, he made inquiries regarding the language most familiar to his audience. That night he translated his long address from English into German.

Soon after his death in 1915, during World War I, a letter was received from the Hague stating that the portable baths, which he had introduced at the World Conference in 1912, were very popular and were scattered over the country and in use by the Army. The Holland letter also stated, " Your system of Portable Baths, explained and exposed on the first International Congress of Public Baths and School Baths at Scheveningen in 1912, is now much used in our country." [42]

The Bath Commission and its employees have all these years consistently shown great pride in their loyal service to a splendid cause.[43] They are still free of political or personal influences, and have at all times regarded most highly the essentials of this magnificent contribution of public baths to the City of Baltimore. The Commission has kept faith with both Thomas M. Beadenkopf's ideals and Henry Walters' request since the opening of the first Walters Public Baths on South High Street, when Mr. Walters handed the keys and deed to the Bath Commission stating that he " only hoped the Commission would run the bathhouses on the good old democratic principle of the greatest good to the greatest number." [44]

Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf found inspiration in contact with his fellowmen. He believed in sharing his blessings by creating opportunities which would inspire others to achieve something useful and effective in their lives. His ministry to the welfare and betterment of mankind speaks far more eloquently than his sermons. We can only wish for more men of such character, unselfishness, and devotion.

[42] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1915*, p. 7.
[43] *Free Public Bath Commission*, p. 26.
[44] *Annual Report of the Free Public Bath Commission for the Year 1900*, p. 17.

MARYLAND QUAKERS AND SLAVERY

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

IN the second half of the 1650's, when Quakers first settled in Maryland, Negro slavery existed both here and in other British colonies. It does not appear that Friends considered the holding of slaves as inconsistent with their principles. In fact, it is reported to have been the usual custom with Friends, after attending the sessions of the Yearly Meeting at West River, to go on board slave-ships lying near by and select their slaves.[1]

Alice Kennersly, of Maryland, bequeathed her "negro woman Betty and her child" to Daniel Cox in consideration that he should "pay twenty shillings annually for thirty years to the Meeting, for the paying of travelling Friends' ferriage in Dorchester County, or whatever other occasions Friends may see meet." The Meeting recognized this bequest by advising Daniel Cox to be present at the next Monthly Meeting to answer whatever questions that might be asked him concerning the premises.[2]

Among the early Quaker owners of slaves in Maryland there is found the name of Wenlock Christison (sometimes spelled Christerson), one of the brave band of "Friends of Truth" who suffered persecution in Boston. During the trial of William Leddra in March, 1660, this Christison, who had previously been banished from Boston on pain of death, suddenly appeared in Court as the friend and sympathizer of the prisoner—braving all consequence to himself, in order that he might possibly aid his friend and at the same time serve the cause which he had so earnestly embraced. Again he was arrested and tried; and this time he was sentenced to be hanged. After a few days, with twenty-seven other Quakers, he was released. In 1664 he was

[1] *Commemorative Exercises of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Friends' Meeting-House at Third Haven* (Easton, 1884), p. 23.

[2] Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 190. These records, hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes, are located in the Talbot County Register of Wills Office.

whipped with ten lashes, in each of three towns in Massachusetts, and then driven into the wilderness. Sometime after this Christison made a voyage to the Barbadoes. Then, by 1670, he settled in Talbot County, Maryland, on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River, on a tract of land known as "Ending of Controversy." [3]

In 1681, some two years after the death of Christison, there appears in the minutes of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends notice that Elizabeth Christison (widow of Wenlock), William Sharpe, and Thomas Taylor, executors of his last will and testament, had been arrested at the suit of "Wm. Diggs, concerning of some negroes sent by Winlock out of Barbadoes to this country." [4] Diggs, in all probability, was Col. Diggs, commander at St. Mary's in 1689, when the archives of the province were surrendered to John Coode, the leader of the Protestant Association.[5] Harrison is apparently correct in interpreting the wording of this brief minute to mean that these slaves were sent out of Barbadoes by Christison, who was at that time present in the island, and were not purchased from a cargo import by Col. Diggs.

These two examples, and others which might be shown from the records of the Meetings as well as of the courts, show clearly that the Quaker "testimony" against holding men in bondage had not always existed. In fact, it was about one hundred and fifty years after the first Quakers settled in Maryland that the Meetings were free of slave-owners.

Before the Meetings could offer advice on this subject, there had to grow up a sensitiveness in the minds of the individual members of the society. In 1671 George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, felt called upon to advise Friends in Barbadoes concerning their Negroes—admonishing them "to endeavour to train them

[3] Samuel A. Harrison, *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878) presents a good life of Christison. In large part, this work is based upon George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged*, first printed in 1661. Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, I, 103-132, contains this memoir by Dr. Harrison.

[4] Third Haven Minutes, I, 44. It should be pointed out that, while this is a paper dealing with Maryland Quakers, examples to illustrate the point under discussion are often taken from the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends (Easton). These records are complete from 1676 to the present.

[5] Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

up in the fear of God . . . and after certain years of servitude they should make them free." [6]

William Dixon, who married the widow of Wenlock Christison, wishing, in 1684, " to sell a negro his freedom desires ye meeting's advice." He is referred to the Yearly Meeting " for advice in yt particular." [7] In 1708, by his will, this same William Dixon emancipated several Negroes and provided for their support by furnishing them land and means to build houses.[8]

In addition to this growing sensitiveness in the minds of the individual members of the Society of Friends belonging to the Maryland Yearly Meeting, there were several outside influences which helped the Yearly Meeting to arrive at its final decision to disown those who continued to hold slaves against the advice of their Meetings. These were the testimony of other Yearly Meetings, the visitation of travelling Friends, and the example and preaching of the Nicholites.

In the earliest days of Pennsylvania, where slavery was in its mildest form, some of its citizens had clear views on this subject. The most prominent of these were Friends of Germantown, who were emigrants from Kreisheim, in Germany. These " unsophisticated vine-dressers and corn growers from the Palatinate of the Upper Rhine, the converts of the devoted William Ames, revolted at the idea of good men buying and selling human beings, heirs with themselves of immortality." Faithful to their convictions, they bore an uncompromising testimony against the evil and prepared an address to their Monthly Meeting on this subject as early as 1688.[9] This was in turn referred to the Yearly Meeting which took no action on it—feeling that Friends were not yet of one mind on the subject.

In 1700, after having made provision for the emancipation of the few slaves he held, William Penn brought the matter to the attention of a Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, which, however,

[6] Fox's *Journal*, II, 134. Cited by J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1862), p. 22.

[7] Third Haven Minutes, I, 66.

[8] *Talbot County Wills*, Liber I, Folio 271. Harrison felt certain that some of these people, who had served him twenty years, were of that cargo of Negroes sent out of Barbadoes by Wenlock Christison.

[9] James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (London, 1854), II, 192. The address from the Meeting at Germantown, held the 18th of the 2nd Month, 1688, is reproduced here on pages 193-195.

merely directed that Indians and Negroes should be encouraged to attend Friends' Meetings.

The concern among members of the Society in relation to slavery was spreading, and some members had espoused the cause of human liberty as the inherent right of all. One of the earliest and most earnest of these was Ralph Sandiford, who removed in youth to Philadelphia from Liverpool, where he was born in 1693. A merchant, he sometimes visited the West Indies where the revolting cruelty to slaves awakened his attention and excited his sympathy. Upon his return to Philadelphia, he urged upon the members of his own Meeting the duty of freeing their slaves. In 1729 he published a treatise entitled *A Brief Examination of the Practice of the Times*, in which he advanced "many cogent arguments against slavery and the slave-trade, showing that they are subversive to the natural rights of man and utterly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity." [10]

The next earnest advocate of emancipation was Benjamin Lay, who quite often resorted to Jeremiah-like methods of enforcing his arguments. Once he came to the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia with a sword in one hand and a bladder of blood in the other. Running the sword through the bladder, he sprinkled the blood on several Friends and declared that so would the sword be sheathed in the bowels of the nation if they did not leave off oppressing the Negroes.[11]

Another early leader in this movement was Anthony Benezet, of a French Protestant family, who settled in Philadelphia in 1731. One of his pamphlets was entitled *An Historical Account of Guinea*, containing "an inquiry into the rise and progress of the slave trade, its nature and calamitous effects." [12]

Perhaps the Quaker who had the greatest influence among the Maryland Friends was John Woolman of New Jersey. In 1746, along with Isaac Andrews, he engaged in a gospel mission to Maryland and Virginia. His religious concern on the subject of slavery apparently was deepened by the scenes which he witnessed and the feelings that attended his mind. After his return from this visit, he wrote some observations on slavery. This work was first published in the year 1754, and a second part was added in 1762.

[10] Samuel M. Janney, *History of the Religious Society of Friends, From Its Rise to the Year 1828* (Philadelphia, 1867), III, 240-242.
[11] *Ibid.*, III, 245-246.
[12] *Ibid.*, III, 314-315.

Entitled *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes: Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination,* this was not the first treatise ever published on this subject but it was one of the most effective that has ever appeared.[13] Again, in 1766, John Woolman made a visit to Maryland and was accompanied this time by John Sleeper. These two Quakers from New Jersey travelled on foot through the Eastern Shore region (Woolman's decision to travel on foot had been brought about by his desire to come into closer sympathy with the slave in his life of labor) and their testimony was widely received.[14]

As has been pointed out earlier, the example of the Nicholites of Caroline County had an influence upon the neighboring Quakers of the Eastern Shore—particularly when coupled with the visit of John Woolman.[15] Joseph Nichols, the first preacher of this society and the chief instrument in its founding, was the first man in his neighborhood to preach against slavery. Two members of the Nicholites, William Dawson and James Harris, were the first to emancipate their slaves. The example of these two made such an impact on their co-religionists that the testimony against slavery was incorporated in their Discipline; it became a disownable offense even to employ a slave.[16] Some of them, among whom was James Horney, were even more zealous, refusing either to eat with slave-holders or to partake of the produce raised by slave labor.[17] The Quakers were, with one exception, in full sympathy with the teachings of Nichols (the testimony of the Nicholites and of the Society of Friends against war, oaths, and a stipendiary ministry were identical), and often invited him to attend their meetings. Yet, at this time, they refused to accept his condemnation of slave-holding. The matter had thus reached a critical point when John Woolman, accompanied by John Sleeper, made his visit to Maryland in 1766.

The first minute on the subject of slavery appearing in the manuscript records of Friends in Maryland was in the 6th Month, 1759, when, upon revision of the queries, a new one was adopted

[13] *Ibid.*, III, 313.
[14] Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 96-97.
[15] See my article "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV (March, 1950), 47-61.
[16] Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[17] Janney, *op. cit.*, III, 495.

as follows: "Are Friends careful of importing or buying of negroes, and doe they use them well they are possessed of by inheritance or otherwise, endeavoring to trane them up in the principles of Christian religion?" [18]

In the 5th Month, 1760, the records of the Yearly Meeting at West River (at this time the Yearly or General Meeting met alternately, twice a year, at West River on the Western Shore and Treadhaven or Thirdhaven on the Eastern Shore) reported "some *oneasiness*," with some Friends respecting the words "buying of negroes," "agreed to last year." The Meeting felt that "Friends at present are not fully ripe in their judgments to carry the minute farther than against being concerned in the importing of negroes." [19] In the 10th Month of the same year, the Meeting at Treadhaven declared "This Meeting concludes that Friends should not in any wise encourage the importation of negroes, by buying or selling them, or other slaves." In the 5th Month, 1762, the Meeting at West River concluded that it was their "solid judgment that no member of our society shall be concerned in *importing* or *buying* of negroes, nor selling any without the consent and approbation of the Monthly Meeting they belong to." [20]

This last statement explains the case of Powell Cox's applying to Third Haven Monthly Meeting, on the 30th of the 5th Month, 1765, "for leave to sell some Negroes who have fallen into his hands by means of an attachment." The Meeting appointed Joseph Bartlett, Henry Troth, James Kemp, Jonathan Neal, Isaac Dixon, and John Dixon to examine "into the circumstances of the case and to give him leave if they think proper, and to report thereof to our next Meeting." [21] After an investigation, they "thought best to give him leave to sell them at private sale provided he can get good places for them." [22]

Two years later, Dennis Hopkins, Sr., when called before the same Monthly Meeting, "acknowledged the Truth of his having sold a Negroe, but informed the Meeting that he was Ignorant of the direction of the Yearly Meeting against that practice, & Expressed his Sorrow for having acted contrary to the mind of Friends." This was received as satisfactory.[23] On the 30th of the

[18] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[19] *Loc. cit.*
[20] *Loc. cit.*
[21] Third Haven Minutes, II, 380.
[22] *Ibid.*, II, 381.
[23] *Ibid.*, II, 417½.

7th Month, 1767, Daniel Bartlett was disowned for having bought a Negro slave.[24]

The Yearly Meeting in 1768 was of unanimous mind in advising that

> such as buy or sell them [i. e., slaves] for term of Life or otherwise, contrary to the former direction of this Meeting, . . . if no prospect appears of their making satisfaction for the same by granting them their liberty, . . . that in such cases the said Meetings are hereby directed to proceed to Disown such persons as disorderly Walkers, until they so far come to a Sight and Sence of their Misconduct as to Condemn the same to the Satisfaction of the said Meetings.[25]

George Willson was first reported on the 30th of the 6th Month, 1768, by the representatives of Tuckaho Preparatory Meeting to the Third Haven Monthly Meeting for having bought a slave.[26] After much patient "laboring" with him on the part of appointed representatives of the Meeting, he was disowned on the 30th of the 3rd Month, 1769.[27] In 1770 Edward Clerk purchased a Negro child contrary to the advice of the Yearly Meeting. He later appeared before his Monthly Meeting and expressed his sorrow for acting contrary to the advice of Friends and signified that he would not have done it except to keep it from being separated from its mother. He likewise stated that he did not know that it was contrary to the advice of Friends when he made the purchase. His explanation was accepted by the Monthly Meeting.[28]

The first manumission recorded in the records of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting was on the 30th of the 7th Month, 1767, when Joseph Berry produced to the Meeting "Certificates of Manumission for Negroes Abram and Hannah whom he has sett free & discharged from service, also a Bond Obligatory on himself and Heirs to set Negro Philip at present a Minor at Liberty when he arrives at the age of Twenty one Years."[29] The Meeting, evidently sensing that these three were just the beginning

[24] *Ibid.*, II, 424-425.
[25] *Ibid.*, II, 458.
[26] The following preparatory meetings were under the Third Haven Monthly Meeting: Third Haven, Bayside, Choptank, Tuckaho, Queen Ann's, and Marshy Creek.
[27] Third Haven Minutes, II, 463.
[28] *Ibid.*, II, 491, 493.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 426.

with more to follow, appointed Daniel Smith to " procure a proper Book for that purpose & to record these, & any other of that kind that the Meeting may hereafter direct." [30] In this book, kept for many years by William Edmondson, until he was replaced in 1779, at his own request, by Richard Bartlett, were recorded manumissions by Benjamin Berry, Joseph Berry, Isaac Dixon, William Edmondson, Samuel Harwood, Magdalen Kemp, Tristram Needles, Howell Powell, Sarah Powell, Henry Troth, James Turner, Daniel Wilson, and other Friends.[31] The greatest concentrations of manumissions were from 1767 to 1771 (following Woolman's journey in 1766) and from 1777 to 1780 (following the action of the Yearly Meeting).

In 1773 the Yearly Meeting advised Friends to continue their concern over the practice of slave-holding and to labor " with those who are in the practice of holding slaves." [32] In response to this directive of the Yearly Meeting, the Third Haven Monthly Meeting on the 31st of the 3rd Month, 1774, appointed a standing committee of Benjamin Parvin, Howell Powell, William Edmondson, and Joseph Berry to " have the care and oversight of the negroes amongst us, whether in a state of Slavery or Freedom, & to treat with those who do not justice to them, as Truth may abilitate them." Their progress in this work should be reported to the Meeting " when they find freedom." [33]

The Yearly Meeting recommended in 1776 that each Monthly Meeting record the manumission of slaves — something which had been done by Third Haven Monthly Meeting since 1767. These records were to include both the name of the manumitter and the number freed. Copies were to be sent to the Yearly Meeting.[34]

The final step, toward which the Society of Friends had long been feeling its way, was reached in 1777, when the Yearly Meeting produced the following minute:

By the Reports from our several Quarters we have Information, that our Testimony against Slave-keeping gains ground, which affords encourage-

[30] *Loc. cit.*

[31] The existence and whereabouts of this volume are unknown to the writer. These names were gleaned from several volumes of manuscript minutes of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends.

[32] Third Haven Minutes, III, 28.

[33] *Ibid.*, III, 41.

[34] *Ibid.*, III, 72.

ment for the continuance of the united Labours of well-concerned Friends. This Meeting having been weightily under the Consideration of this important Branch of our Christian Testimony, & a concern prevailing for the furtherance and promotion thereof, have concluded, that, should any of the Members of our religious Society, remain so regardless of the Advices of this Meeting from time to time communicated, as to continue to hold Mankind in a state of Slavery; the Subscription of such, for the use of the Society, ought not in the future be received . . . and if any should continue so far to justify their conduct, as to refuse or reject the tender Advice of their Brethren herein; It is our solid Sense and Judgment of this Meeting, that the continuing in the Practice is become so burthensome, that such persons must be disunited from our religious Society.[35]

Under this rule of discipline some were disowned for " slave-keeping," after patient waiting and frequent admonitions. Usually, when disownment was resorted to by Third Haven Monthly Meeting, there was some additional charge. Aaron Parrott was disowned the 26th of the 11th Month, 1778, for continuing to own slaves and for taking " an Affirmation " which the Meeting felt obligated him to go to war.[36] Elizabeth Dudley (late Parrott) was disowned the 27th of the 1st Month, 1785, for owning slaves and for being married with the assistance of a priest.[37]

James Edmondson and John Bartlett, near the end of 1777, were added to the " Committee for care and oversight of negroes " to visit "such of our Brethren as continue in the practice of Slave-keeping." [38] The Quarterly Meeting then recommended that the subordinate Monthly Meetings " do continue their Care in visiting the few who now remain possessed of slaves." [39] As the records show, the number of manumissions continued to increase slowly.

On the 16th of the 4th Month, 1779, the Quarterly Meeting for the Eastern Shore takes the reports of the subordinate Monthly Meetings as " importing in substance . . . that they appear clear

[35] *Ibid.*, III, 84. The New England Yearly Meeting had arrived at this same point in 1770, and in 1776 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had reached a like conclusion. In 1777 the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (which embraced the Friends of South Carolina and Georgia also) acted in concert with their brethren in Maryland, but the Virginia Yearly Meeting did not adopt this extreme measure of disownment until 1784 (See Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

[36] *Ibid.*, III, 98.

[37] *Ibid.*, III, 202.

[38] *Ibid.*, III, 84.

[39] *Ibid.*, III, 87. The Cecil and Third Haven Monthly Meetings, which included all the then existing Freinds' Meetings on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, were under this Quarterly Meeting.

of Slave keeping." [40] This same view is stated exactly one year later in the records of the Quarterly Meeting. Yet, in the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, there is found the appointment, on the 22nd of the 2nd Month, 1787, of John Register, Solomon Charles, Thomas Wickersham, and John Boon " to visit and make a more minute inspection in the situation of negroes remaining in the families of friends." [41] On the 25th of the 5th Month, 1786, Howell Powell, Jr., son of an honored elder of the Meeting, was disowned for holding slaves and indulging a " Libertine spirit." [42]

In 1784 William Bowers died, leaving to the Third Haven Meeting of Friends ten slaves. The Meeting ruled that those of suitable age should be discharged and proper places should be provided for the young ones. Manumission for the whole lot was to be provided at the next meeting. However, it was discovered that this bequest of William Bowers needed Legislative approval. The petition drawn up by the Meeting was rejected after its second reading by the Assembly on the grounds that it would be unconstitutional.[43]

It might be supposed that slave-holding among the Quakers would have disappeared completely within a short time after the Yearly Meeting took action in 1777. Yet the 1790 Census for Talbot County lists John Fleming, William Kemp, Edward Needles, John Needles, John Regester, Elizabeth Sherwood, and William Troth (members of Third Haven Monthly Meeting at this time) as slave holders.[44] In 1792 Third Haven stated in its report to the Quarterly Meeting, that the Meeting was " clear of slavery except in the estates of some minors." [45]

Thus, it is seen that Maryland Quakers continued to hold slaves, though in an ever decreasing number, for many years after the action of the Yearly Meeting made such action grounds for disownment. Time, operating through wills and occasional manumissions, was the answer.

[40] Minutes of the Quarterly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, for the Eastern Shore of Maryland (from 1755 to 1833). These Quarterly Meeting Records are with the Third Haven records in Easton.

[41] Third Haven Minutes, III, 231.

[42] *Ibid.*, III, 223.

[43] *Ibid.*, III, 200-201, 205, 217.

[44] *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Maryland* (Washington, 1907), pp. 110-113. No attempt was made to examine these census records for all members of the Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends.

[45] Third Haven Minutes, III, 301.

The Quakers were, it might be added, not content to free their slaves and then forget them. The committee for "care and oversight," set up in 1774, was interested in "the negroes amongst us, whether in a state of Slavery or Freedom."[46] In 1784 the Meeting was informed that the liberty of those Negroes who had been set free by will was likely to be called into question. The Meeting, therefore, appointed John Bartlett, James Berry, Solomon Charles, Benjamin Parvin, Richard Bartlett, and John Regester "to draw up an address suitable to the occasion & present it on behalf of this meeting to the ensuing Court of Talbot County, and proceed further in the case if they should see cause."[47] Apparently, no further action was necessary. On other occasions Friends were encouraged to give what spiritual and material help they could so that they might aid those Negroes in a "low state" around them.

There is no means of ascertaining the pecuniary sacrifices made by Maryland Quakers as a result of their conscientious conviction that slave-holding was inconsistent with the Truth. Tradition relates that one family alone freed two hundred slaves.[48] This, however, seems to be a large number for any one Maryland family to own at this particular time. Yet the total sacrifice must have been impressive, for large bodies of Friends lived in the slave-holding counties of Anne Arundel, Prince Georges, and Montgomery, and on the Eastern Shore where slaves performed the great mass of labor.

In this study of Maryland Quakers and slavery, it has been clearly pointed out that their testimony had not always been against slave-holding (as Janney, Bowden, and other Quaker historians plainly agree). The glory of the Society of Friends is that, "at so early a period, even before the public conscience had been awakened, and at a time when the pecuniary interests of its members were so heavily involved—interests which have so much to do wtih our moral decisions"—it should have arrived at the position of espousing human liberty as the inherent right of all.[49]

[46] *Ibid.*, III, 41.
[47] *Ibid.*, III, 187.
[48] Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[49] Harrison, *op cit.*, p. 72. This attitude became so consistent among Quakers that they even declined to hire the labor of slaves from those who held them.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. CHARLES B. CLARK, Editor and Author. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1950. 3 v. I-II, xiii, 1182; v. III, 350 pp. $27.50.

The *Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* is a subscription publication. The first volume is historical and chronological, the second, topical and institutional, and the third—for which the publisher bears responsibility—biographical. Advance purchases by the subjects of the biographical sketches insured publication of the entire work.

On occasion critics have belittled the worth of such works, usually by labeling them as "commercial." The epithet, of course, is not a true criticism, though frequently disparagement has been well merited. Too often the authors, contributors or editors have been amateur antiquarians rather than trained historians and their intense interest in narrow fields has resulted in the isolation of local events from the national scene. Too often, also, the editors have been limited in their objectivity by fear of offense to possible subscribers or, again, the authors' qualifications have not included an ability to write with interest.

Sometimes, however, the scoffers have been too sweeping in their condemnation of "commercial" publishing ventures. The simple truth is that, without the financial support of the subscription method, the histories of many specialized areas would remain unrecorded save in hard-to-come-by monographs or scattered articles in out-of-date periodicals. Despite recent advances, no field cries for the attention of trained historians as does that of local history; if skilled workers and writers can be brought into the field with profit to all concerned only by use of the subscription method then the use of that device might well be widened. Provided that agreement exists on high standards, there seems to me to be no more "commercialism" in accepting a flat fee from a publisher than in requesting one from a foundation. Dr. Clark is to be congratulated for bringing his talents to bear on a task of this nature.

In presenting *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia* both editor and publisher appear to have set and conscientiously followed the necessary standards. The work covers events and personalities from the Shore's earliest days to modern times and includes such topics as county government and history, religion, architecture, economic and social life, politics, and even sports. Just as Dr. Clark states in his foreword that no single person could do a thorough job in the time permitted, so no one reviewer adequately can discuss a work of this scope in the allowable space even if

he possessed the necessary qualifications. I, for one, cannot offer sound criticism on such widely varying topics as the geology of the Eastern Shore, the Indians of the area, the share of the section in the nation's several wars, and its social, economic and political life at different periods of its history. A proper evaluation of the volumes must await the verdicts of several specialists.

The work does serve the definite purpose of presenting material compiled from various authentic sources and related to the history of the State and nation. The text is thoroughly documented and the references cited at the end of each chapter provide what is, in effect, a bibliography. Included in the material which is new—to me at least—is the interesting discussion of the Eastern Shore separatist movement by James C. Mullikin. The editor has rendered a service, too, in bringing up to date—both in relation to chronology and to recently unearthed data—many of the topical and institutional chapters such as the one on Washington College. In addition to the editing, a substantial portion of the history is Dr. Clark's original composition, though the specialized knowledge of numerous contributors has been utilized effectively. The index has been skillfully prepared and the work supplemented with many reproductions of appropriate photographs, prints, maps and statistical charts.

Admittedly this is an inadequate review. I can only indicate the scope of the work and express satisfaction in the fact that subscription publishers in the field of local history are turning to the employment of trained and capable historian-authors.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE.

Eleanor Calvert and Her Circle. By ALICE COYLE TORBERT. New York: The William Frederick Press, 1950. Published under the auspices of The National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the District of Columbia. 150 pp. $3.25.

This slim little volume continues the story of America's "Royal Family" from the Washington diaries and writings, through the beginnings of the Capital City and up until the war of 1812. It is largely a story of women, the women who have been vague background figures for the great men of the period and who now step into the light through their chatty correspondence. The book ties together four great houses, all now open to the visiting public, Mount Vernon, Kenmore, Woodlawn and Arlington. Scores of lesser plantation homes and kin are woven into the fabric of local and national history.

Eleanor Calvert, granddaughter of the Fifth Lord Baltimore, daughter-in-law of Martha Washington and mother of the lovely Nellie Custis, ward of the Washingtons and wife of Lawrence Lewis, is the central figure. The mother of twenty children, eleven of whom lived to maturity, widowed early but soon married to an unsuccessful man, her life was full of trials and complete domesticity. Illnesses and love affairs have always

been predominant in women's letters and the Custis-Stuart family letters are no exception. Only the unconventional Eliza Law could put real spice into her gossip. However, all the little doings of a family, dug from this source and that, when put together give a pretty complete picture of life at that time. And these people were on the fringes of greatness; they had opportunities to meet distinguished visitors at Mount Vernon, go to Mrs. Madison's balls and move in the rarified atmosphere that belongs to the early history of this great republic.

Only the devoted hand of a student of this period and region could have pieced the story together and it is to be sincerely regretted that the story could not have been published in its entirety—for there is much that is omitted. The genealogical tables for working out the various relationships in a large and complicated family are excellent. The book is well indexed and well documented, although this reader experienced difficulty in following the coded form of annotation. However, it is a readable little book on the lighter side of history and brings to public notice some hitherto unpublished letters to fill in a gap in the Washington story.

R. R. B.

Steam Navigation in Virginia and North Carolina Waters, 1826-1836. Compiled . . . by JOHN C. EMERSON, JR. Portsmouth, Va.: the Author, 1949. 453 pp. Planographed. $6.00.

This is a painstaking compilation of contemporaneous newspaper items relating to the steamboats plying out of Norfolk during the decade between 1826 and 1836. While it pertains mainly to the port of Norfolk, there is much to interest Baltimoreans who seek information concerning early Baltimore steamboats. There are a large number of references to steamers which sailed between Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond and Philadelphia. A number of the steamboats which made Norfolk their home port were built in Baltimore. There are more or less detailed descriptions of some of them, with the data as to their general construction, types of engines and boilers, arrangement of cabins, speed, etc. Most of them had masts, spars and sails. One of the most interesting items is a reference to the ice-breaker *Relief* which the Port of Baltimore had in service in 1835. The "ancient" *F. C. Latrobe* dates back to 1879, so that she had at least one predecessor.

It is regrettable that the book has not been put out with a more durable binding, as with its subject matter and excellent index, it is a worthwhile reference work for the steamboat fan.

WILLIAM C. STEUART.

The United States Coast Guard 1709-1915. By STEPHEN H. EVANS, Captain, USCG, Annapolis, Md.: The United States Naval Institute. 228 pp. $5.00.

Captain Evans' definitive history of the Coast Guard completely fills a gap in the overall story of our past. From its beginning as an agency of the Treasury Department charged with enforcing customs laws, the author clearly traces the growth and development of the organization under various names until January 1915, when, by Act of Congress, it became the all inclusive federal maritime safety and law enforcement agency. Necessarily, Captain Evans frequently touches on general American history as well as on aspects of marine history. The story of the service's difficult conversion from wood and wind to steel and steam and of the Coast Guard's important share in charting Alaskan waters and in exploring and protecting the resources of "Seward's Icebox" particularly are well done. The illustrations are numerous and appropriate and the index more than adequate. *Postscript: 1915-1949* at the end of the book is all too brief. It is hoped that the author is planning to complete the story through World War II.

H. M.

Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina, 1852-1860. By HAROLD S. SCHULTZ. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1950. x, 259 pp. $4.50.

The antislavery movement was uppermost in the mind of the South during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. The decade of the 1850's, consequently, has never ceased to attract the interest of historians trying to ascertain the importance of the movement in the coming of the conflict. In this book, Professor Schultz emphasizes and evaluates the importance of the antislavery issue in the development of the factional alignments in South Carolina and its effect on the secession movement.

As the author retraces the course of events from 1852 to 1860, it is not impossible to follow the steps by which the irreconcilables gained the ascendancy in South Carolina. Treating each year from 1852 to 1860 in an individual chapter, he has used to good advantage the technique of summarizing all the issues and their effect on state politics during each year. He points out that the irreconcilables were only able to gain the ascendancy when South Carolina statesmen were convinced that the strength of the antislavery elements in the federal government would mean the end of all represented by South Carolina.

In writing his narrative, the author has almost entirely emphasized the slavery question. He has failed to take into consideration the importance of the economic forces which were at work. His book contributes nothing new to the history of the period. He has devoted almost no attention to

the secession convention of December, 1860. In addition, his style is sometimes hard to follow. Nevertheless, his chapter on "Leadership, 1850-1860," is of interest because of its insight into the mind of the South Carolina leaders.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

The Campus of the First State University. By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON. The University of North Carolina Sesquicentennial Publications. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949. 412 pp. $5.00.

Archibald Henderson, Kenan Professor Emeritus of Mathematics at the University of North Carolina and distinguished biographer of George Bernard Shaw, a prominent member of the University community of Chapel Hill for over fifty years as student and professor and long a valuable historian of his native state, has presented what is perhaps the most comprehensive record of the history of an American university campus, its grounds and buildings.

The volume is one of the Sesquicentennial Publications of the University, edited by Dr. Louis R. Wilson. "Campus" for Dr. Henderson "implies University lands as well as the grounds upon which the institution is located: buildings, athletic fields, gymnasium, standium, arboretum, forest, plants and flora, landscape gardening, architecture, and innumerable other aspects of the University's life throughout the entire course of its material growth and physical development for one hundred and fifty years." The book is fully documented from both published and unpublished sources and sprinkled with 59 illustrations or photographs and 12 maps or plans. It has useful appendices and a full index. As inclusive as Dr. Henderson indicates in his foreword, it is a valuable repository of University and university village history—an indispensable supplement to the official *History of the University of North Carolina* by Kemp P. Battle, published in two volumes between 1907 and 1912.

PHILIP MAHONE GRIFFITH.

The Catholic University of America, 1903 to 1909. The Rectorship of Dennis J. O'Connell. By COLMAN J. BARRY, O. S. B. Washington, D. C. The Catholic University of America Press, 1950. 309 pp. $3.50.

This book is the fourth in a series recounting the history of the Catholic University of America at Washington. The earlier volumes treat respectively the formative years of the University by John Tracy Ellis, the rectorship of John J. Keane (first rector) by Patrick H. Ahern and the rectorship of Thomas J. Conaty (second rector) by Peter E. Hogan, S. S. J.

The period of which Father Barry writes is an extremely interesting and important one for the University. The institution, one of the earliest graduate schools in the United States, was emerging from its limited and cautious beginnings into full vigor as a national seat of higher education. Stabilizing elements developed during the administration of O'Connell were the establishment of an annual collection for the University in every Catholic Church in the country, the inauguration of an undergraduate school which served as a feeder for the higher faculties, the development of a sound administrative program to govern the University's internal organization and the establishment of the National Catholic Educational Association. These advances were made in spite of great trials, the most serious of which was the heavy financial loss suffered by the University in the failure of its fiscal agent and treasurer, Thomas E. Waggaman.

Father Barry's book treats of these matters in a thoroughly frank and a highly scholarly manner. The work is extremely well documented. For the general reader the chapter on O'Connell's early years in Rome will have, perhaps, the greatest appeal; for Marylanders the intimate part played in this period of the University's progress by Cardinal Gibbons, Charles J. Bonaparte and Michael Jenkins will hold special interest.

RT. REV. JOSEPH M. NELLIGAN.

An American Family. By EDWARD NICHOLAS CLOPPER, Ph. D. Huntington, W. Va. Standard Printing & Publishing Co., 1950. xiii, 624 pp.

The sub-title of Dr. Clopper's book, "An American Family," reads: "Its Ups and Downs Through Eight Gernerations from 1650 to 1880." It is the story of a typical American family of the migratory pioneer class whose founder came to these shores without the prestige of high rank or status. In the old country from which he came, he had learned the honorable and useful handicraft of blacksmith, a vocation immortalized by one of our great American poets.

Cornelius Jansen Clopper came from Bergen-op-Zoom in the Netherlands to New Amsterdam (later, New York) about the year 1650, for on March 3, 1652 he was a witness to a baptism in the Reformed Dutch Church. He married in 1657 in New Amsterdam Heyltje Pieters (from Amsterdam) and had issue ten children.

"An American Family" is more than the customary genealogy. It is really an historical narrative based upon a melange of material compiled from various original sources, such as Church and State records, old family letters and Bibles, business contracts and other privately owned documents too numerous to mention. The material is documented, but not in the usual style of page footnotes, which mar the appearance of a page. The references to sources are so presented as to become a part of the text itself, or are indicated by consecutive small type numerals, having reference to a bibliography toward the latter part of the book.

The lover of home-spun poetry will find many samples of such effusions in the book. Besides the Clopper family there is an amount of space devoted to the Chambers famly of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and mention is made of the Taneys, Keys, Este-Fishers, *et al.*

FRANCIS BARNUM CULVER.

Maryland in World War II. Volume I: Military Participation. Prepared for the State of Maryland by the War Records Division of the Maryland Historical Society. [Text by HAROLD R. MANAKEE, Director]. Baltimore: War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society, 1950. 384 pp. $3.00 (by mail $3.25 plus Md. sales tax 6 c.).

War in Korea catches Maryland, and Baltimore, still with nothing that can be considered a proper memorial to our combatant dead and living of World War II. The neighborhood shafts, the label applied to a stadium due for rebuilding anyway—are sorry matches, so far, for the War Memorial Plaza, for instance, across from Baltimore's City Hall.

There has been talk enough, and memorial commissions exist; public suggestions for useful construction, instead of granite doughboys or sword-lifting victories, remain in mind. Five years have gone, however, with little specific acomplishment to show and now events across the Korea Strait will doubtless make any proposal even easier to push aside.

But a ray, and a bright one, has shone forth to illuminate this memory of the paths so many Marylanders struggled along, in so many places. It can be argued that the Maryland Historical Society, in its normal functioning, would assemble printed relics and even publish some factual summary of what was achieved by the enrolled men and women of this State; but it is unlikely to be disputed that the work now issued—Volume I of *Maryland in World War II*—exceeds any perfunctory expectation.

A book cannot fully answer the need to tell our descendants of what it was like, and of what Marylanders did, in the war that is still this country's greatest. But nothing of concrete and steel will retain meaning, without written explanation. By the Society's count, 250,786 persons from Maryland fought or served in some definite way, between January 1, 1939, "when the war clouds were gathering" and December 31, 1946, when presidential proclamation ended hostilities officially. What only a book can do is to set down their names, and trace the tremendous variety of their contributions.

In rooms on the ground floor of the Society's headquarters, personnel of the Society's War Records Division have spent these five years putting together such a book. Their present publication is only Volume I of an enterprise that will probably require three more volumes, and as many years. "Perhaps the permanent preservation of these (World War II) records will be of more importance than any publication program," says Harold R. Manakee, director of the War Records Division and editor for the project, in a modest side remark concerning the special library

that has grown up behind the book. But for most of the living among the 250,786, "Maryland in World War II" by itself will be archive enough.

The subtitle of Volume I is "Military Participation," and its subject matter is tri-fold: individual military units, six altogether, which from the geography of their activation numbered more than the mathematically-expectable proportion of Marylanders; Maryland installations of the Army, the Navy and the Coast Guard; and the wartime attainments of Marylanders of headline rank. This is, of course, a selection, or compromise; it is an answer to the dilemma confronting any war-records editor, from Maryland to California, of how to separate the specifically military effort of his State from the highly-integrated effort of the nation as a whole. It is, readers may notice, a more comprehensive compromise, and book, than has ever resulted from the participation of Marylanders in earlier wars.

Mr. Manakee himself came on the job in December, 1946, a European Theater veteran of naval warfare, and successor to Dr. Nelson B. Lasson. He has had the aid at all times of the Society's War Records Committee, comprising John T. Menzies, chairman; the Hon. George L. Radcliffe, president of the Society; Gary Black, Roger Brooke Hopkins, the Hon. Howard W. Jackson and Major J. Rieman McIntosh; and of James W. Foster, director of the Society and consultant to the War Records Division. A staff of four employees did much of the daily toil.

Some of the work had already been done by others. Of the six military units, as might be expected, the first is Maryland's federalized National Guard—the 29th Division. Its story, by regiment as well as division, was elsewhere available in newspaper, magazine and book form. For the five Johns Hopkins and University of Maryland army general hospitals, some histories were available in manuscript; gaps were filled by "field trip reports," the written record of personal interviews with individuals or agencies concerned. This direct recourse to primary sources distinguishes the entire project, through Volumes II and III, which are to treat of Maryland's agricultural-industrial effort, and the home-front defense and morale work that went beyond the 250,786. Volume IV will be a Gold Star listing of those who died in World War II.

In consequence, even the earnest peruser of newspapers or the strong-memoried war veteran will probably find many data previously unknown to him. In Volume I this particularly holds true for military installations, from Aberdeen Proving Ground to the Baltimore Naval Storehouse. Inevitably, statistics as to how many million maps were printed at the Navy's Hydrographic Office headquarters, or how many gas masks made at Edgewood Arsenal, may only bewilder the civilian reader; he may skip over the formal exposition of every installation's wartime "mission." But it should dent him, to calculate that by 1945 the armed service valuation of holdings in peaceful Maryland had passed half a billion dollars—a fourth of the assessed value of all Baltimore. All material in Volume I is stated to have been given security clearance in Washington; thus Marylanders will find less than most of them know already about Camp Detrick, the biological warfare center at Frederick, or about the newer toxic gases

in Edgewood's metal cylinders. But how many Baltimoreans are independently aware of the former Manhattan District (nuclear-fission project) office in the Standard Oil Building—or Marylanders of the Basic Naval Intelligence School that flourished in Frederick's Francis Scott Key Hotel; or of "Little David," world's largest mortar—but never used; or even of the Army's Remote Receiving Station, at La Plata, through which even now a traveling President keeps in radio touch with the White House? How many Marylanders, for that matter, could differentiate among these Baltimore installations—Cargo Port of Embarkation, Port Agency, Third Transportation Zone, Captain of the Port, the Port Director, the Senior Officer Present (Ashore)? In a final bravura burst, Volume I appends the designations and sites of 127 lesser installations, mostly in Baltimore, that for one reason or another did not receive text mention.

The three winners of the Medal of Honor (two posthumously), most of the 49 generals and 34 admirals, the Baltimorean who alone went on both the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic flights—these and the other prominent individuals mentioned will be more familiar. Already some names—remember the Army War Show?—will seem like ancient history.

Throughout, the prose of Volume I is to be commended for its calmness and directness. That the bombast felt necessary by historians of previous wars has vanished, should be proof enough that mankind does, after all, progress.

Volume I, which goes out of its way to list naval and Maritime Commission ships with Maryland names, not to mention battle honors and captured towns of the 29th Division, seems to be guilty of few omissions. Perhaps Shangri-la, where the armed forces' commander-in-chief spent summer weekends, could have been considered an installation meriting a sketch. If most of the illustrations have the frozen look of official War or Navy Department releases, doubtless there is no other source for any picture. Eighteen pages of index are a doughty labor; it is a shame only that more maps could not have been provided. Not only could few Baltimoreans give road directions to such places as Brookmont, or Suitland, or Carderock, but the thousands of service men who passed through Fort Meade, or Aberdeen, or Bainbridge, or Holabird, would relish 1945-status maps showing as much as the Department of Defense would allow.

This is not to find fault, however, with the 384 pages of a volume that ought to be a reference possession of every book-reading family in Maryland. The initial printing of 3,000 should be a rapid sellout, for Mr. Manakee and his assistants have labored valiantly. Comparison with other states is not yet possible, but Maryland need not worry. *Maryland in World War II: Military Participation* is the narrative of a State that did its share and more, told with corresponding diligence and success.

JAMES H. BREADY.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826-1866, with a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes. By WILLIAM H. DILLISTIN. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1949. 175 pp., 19 plates.

Celebration of the Sesquicentennial of Saint Ignatius' Church, at Saint Thomas' Manor, Bel Alton and Port Tobacco, Maryland, September 26, 1948. [By the Rev. HERMAN I. STORCK, S. J.] 1949. 16 pp.

Guide to American Biography. Part I—1607-1815. By MARION DARGAN. Foreword by DUMAS MALONE. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949. 140 pp.

Bering's Successors, 1745-1780: Contributions of Peter Silas Pallas to the History of Russian Exploration Toward Alaska. By JAMES R. MASTERSON and HELEN BROWER. Settle: University of Washington Press, 1948. 96 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

PETITION OF DEBTORS CONFINED IN THE JAIL OF BALTIMORE [1]

Council Chamber January 12, '99 [1799]

Gentlemen: [2]

By the direction of the Legislature, I enclose to you a copy of a Petition of sundry Debtors confined in the Jail of Baltimore which was preferred to that Body at their last session

I am with great respect

Your obed Servant

Ben Ogle

[1] In the course of his researches in the City Archives, Mr. William N. Wilkins came across the MS petition printed above. Recognizing its significance as first hand account of prison conditions one hundred and fifty years ago he offered it to the Magazine for publication. Accustomed as we are today to general bankruptcy laws, we are apt to forget that imprisonment for debt was the usual practice in eighteenth century America, and that consequently the signers of this petition were guilty of no greater crime than insolvency.

Upon receiving the petition the legislature appointed a special committee in January, 1800, to examine into the condition reported by the petitioners (*Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates, 1799* (Annapolis, n. d.), p. 108, Jan. 2, 1800). The results of this committee's investigation, unfortunately, do not appear in the published journal of the legislature. Undoubtedly the starting of construction on a new jail in 1800 was regarded as a sufficient reply to the petition.

[2] Letter is addressed to the committee appointed by the Assembly.

To the Honourable The General Assembly of the State of Maryland, the representations of certain of the Debtors confined in the Prison of the City of Baltimore.

When it is considered that in the imperfectability of human Laws, incidental misfortune, the caprice of others and vicious habits may equally operate to the deprivation of personal liberty: it will appear proper, that whilst humanity extends its influence even to the miserable victims to vice, an especial attention should be paid to the feelings of those unfortunate men whom injustice, malice or misfortune may severally consign to the degradations of a prison. To you, Gentlemen, the Guardian of the rights of your fellow Citizens: The protectors, we hope and trust of the unhappy: it appears at this period our duty to address ourselves, and so far as the subject has come within our review, to call your attention to the defects which are apparent in conducting the public Prison of the City of Baltimore—To this measure no selfish motive shall excite us. Were we to be the individual sufferers our pride might overcome the weakness of complaint, might induce us to bear, with firmness that lot, which imprudence or misfortune may have involved. But, when we retrace, now in early expectance of liberation, the caprice to which we have ourselves been exposed when we anticipate the Evils which may arise to our fellow beings, if unchecked these injuries are permitted to accumulate, our sense of duty supersedes every common feeling, and impressed by a principle of right, we step forward the advocates of wounded humanity, we require from your justice that redress, necessary to insure in this miserable place, some small degree of comfort to the unfortunate victims of the laws.

We beg leave to represent to the honorable assembly, the necessity of defining the powers of the Sheriff and of the jailor, and to retain them within their due limits, that individuals be appointed to visit the Prison to inquire into and to remedy grievances. Measures of this kind will appear to the General Assembly not unessential, when incidents, which have fallen beneath our immediate notice, strongly partaking of Tyranny, come to be presented to its review. Some of these evidence an assumption of power in the characters entrusted with the care of this prison, which could never have been contemplated by those from whom they derive their authority.

In perusing the following specifications, we shall leave it to the determination of the honourable assembly, how far the Sheriff is amenable for the acts of the Jailor. It ought we presume to be the duty of characters invested with the trust annexed to this office, by their frequent visits to the Prison to ascertain whether injuries of the present nature exist, and to correct them if requisite.

The individual, who, at present, fills the Sheriffs office, has, we are well assured, during the preceeding nine months, only in one instance visited this place: and from this utter neglect of a duty, not immaterially connected with his office, may perhaps be uninformed of some of the facts hereinafter stated. What effect this ought to have, or whether it may

operate as a palliative of acts, which have militated against the happiness of his fellow beings, we leave to the consideration of the assembly.

We beg leave, in the first place, to enquire, whether the Sheriff or his agents may temper [*sic*] with the lives of the prisoners? whether with intention or no, they may with impunity, be the immediate cause of their destruction?

The case of a German, confined for an inconsiderable debt.

This man from the wretchedness of his poverty, had it not in his power to make those requisite changes in dress essential to the preservation of cleanliness, or to preclude the disgusting concommitants which frequently attach to extreme penury. He might be considered, perhaps, a species of nuisance. This want of cleanliness, however, could easily have been corrected without recurrence to the violent means which the Jailor thought proper to adopt. This poor wretch was dragged from the common apartment of the Debtors, his head and the several parts of his body were shaved, and completely to deprive him, as was asserted, of every semblance of what he was, in the middle of Summer, excited by the confusion naturally attendant on such an operation, and after exposure to a vertical Sun, he was drenched with repeated Bucketts of Water drawn from a well of the depth of 70 feet, and then replaced in his original situation. Within an hour this man was affected by insanity. spasms ensued: and a few hours terminated his existence. An inquest, we are informed, sat upon his Body. What evidence was brought before this Court we know not; but to it a fact which was too palpable appeared not with the horrors it merited, and the wanton distruction of a fellow being was passed bye unnoticed, and unregarded.

We beg leave to inquire whether the Sheriff has the right to cast into the Dungeon, and to load with Irons Prisoners convicted of no actual criminality.

The case of Capt William Smith.

William Smith was confined we understand, from two causes. A case of common debt was one, his being *supposed* guilty of defrauding the revenue, by smuggling Coffee etc was another. This man was admitted to the priviledge of the Debtors appartment, and occupied, partially, the best room of the Prison. Of his own accord, the Jailor thought proper to grant to him the extraordinary priviledge of the yard. He boarded with him. Conscious, we will suppose, of future injury, or impelled by that wish for liberty naturally inherent in man, his sense of rectitude yielded to these operatives and he effected his escape. But this escape was effected not from the Prison but the Yard, when a defect in the House of Office, a back door ocasionally used, tis said by favoured Prisoners and a good opportunity, superseded every other Sentiment, and led to the event. We will not vouch for the purity of this man's principles, nor is it of consequence:—He may be bad, but in this instance the cause of wrong originated with the Jailor, in imprudently granting a priviledge of this nature to a

man with whom he was unacquanted [*sic*], and placing a temptation before his Eyes which purer minds might find a difficulty to repel. The absence of William Smith might extend to twenty four hours. He was recovered, however, cruelly beaten as we are informed, by the Sheriff; by his direction, or at the instance of the Jailor, cast into Irons, consigned to a miserable dungeon, there upon the cold Ground, without even Straw to lie upon, covered with bruises, this unfortunate wretch was left to languish. His leg on which was a wound formerly received, and of which such was the State as to endanger the limb, was permitted to remain undressed for several days. A Prisoner, a M. Chapman, whose humanity induced him to offer his Services for the performance of this office, altho previously possessed of the general priviledge of the Yard, was thrown into close confinement. The Prisoners for debt were after some elapse, permitted to emeliorate [*sic*] somewhat the situation of this unfortunate man and to furnish a Bed. How long he was confined to that Dungeon we know not. He was in time, however, transferred to the Criminal Room, where overwhelmed with Irons, he has since remained.

We shall not take the liberty to comment upon a fact which has filled us with commiseration. To us, however, it appears, that whatever may have been the dishonourable conduct of this individual, in betraying the confidence reposed in him by the Jailor there surely was no established criminality annexed to his acts, which could warrant the barbarous measures we have had the misfortune to witness.

Whether the health and personal comfort of the Debtors may be exposed to the caprice of an ignorant and unfeeling individual? Whether these unfortunate characters may be consigned to the Dungeon or criminal appartment exposed to the unwholsome damps of the first, to the unpleasant concomitants attached to the last. Incidents of this nature have too frequently presented themselves to our view. Some have perhaps, had the plea of necessity, and may have been adopted to correct the riot, intoxication and quarrelling, which occasionally result *from the sale of Spiritous liquors in the Jail.* But, in more than one instance have we witnessed the most unjustifiable assumption of power, and an open contempt for the lives and health of the more respectable Debtors. On an occasion of innocent amusement, which casually interrupted the Jailor, without giving previous notice of disturbance, or of complaint from others, this man has entered, with force, into the first Debtors apartment; he has not merely seized upon those who might be supposed culpable, but has dragged from his bed an individual who had early retired, and because he refused to answer an impertinent demand, he has, by violence conducted him to the Dungeon. As acquantance of this individual for daring to doubt the infallability of this petty Tyrant, and to remonstrate against his injustice, has been treated with similar severity; whilst the Debtors, the victims of his caprice, were overwhelmed with invectives, and exposed to the most abusive threats. Whether privileges of this nature

have been granted by the Laws to characters, proverbially destitute of humanity, we leave to the consideration of the General Assembly.

We beg leave to represent, as a grievance, the right which the Jailor at present exercises of excluding at his will, the friends of the Prisoners. In consequence of this preclusion, the Debtors, in communicating even upon business, are forced in general, to converse in public, at a small, Grate and exposed to every inconvenience.

We beg leave also to point out to the attention of the General Assembly, the right which appears, at the present period, to be vested in the Jailor of excluding entirely from the prison articles which may be essential in sickness, in health requisite to the comfort of the prisoners. Under this class we include wines, cordials, and malt liquors. These articles, are at present, either incapable of being procured at all, or, if supplied, must be purchased from the Jailor, generally of the most indifferent quality, and of the high rates of a Tavern. To individuals with families, already furnished with necessaries of this kind, it appears a real hardship, that they should be prevented supplying themselves from their own houses; and not if inclined to use them either from habit or necessity, be forced to purchase them of the indifferent and prejudicial qualities, and at the most extravagant prices. By this priviledge the office of Jailor has become a sinecure of considerable profit by which an individual prays [*sic*] upon the unfortunate and the needy, and has it in his power, during the period of his service, to amass considerable fortune. It may also be remarked that where it is to the advantage of the Jailor to encourage the consumption of those commodities he has for sale, dangerous consequences may be expected to the health of the inferior prisoners, whilst the Prison is liable to riot, and all the disorders attendant on intoxication. Such effects, we presume could not have been contemplated by the Legislature, in granting this priviledge, nor is it possible that their intention could be to sacrifice the comfort of their unfortunate fellow beings to inrich a single individual or aggrandize a Jailor.

Wishing as far as our feeble ability admits to extend the means of redress to every grade in the Community, we shall take the liberty to present to the attention of the Legislature, certain effects arising from an act respecting runaway Slaves, which, in its formation we presume, could not have been contemplated by the Legislature. Judging by the consequences we have witnessed it appears; that by this act, the Sheriff, or even a petty Constable, is vested with the right of taking up, on suspicion, people of Colour; of committing them to Prison: and there, altho proved to be free, of exposing them to the hardship of either paying the expences incurred, during their unjust confinement, or, if incapacity exist, of making sale of them, for this purpose. By this arrangement, a man, casually of a different colour, and at the moment of arrest, divested of his evidence of freedom, has been seen by us first exposed to the injustice of confinement as a supposed runaway: and when proof was brought forward to prove the reverse, liable to the second injustice, that of either paying the Expences resulting from the aggression of others, or being exposed to a further

confinement, and finally to public sale. Thus by an act directly violating in its effects the fundamental principles of all law, an innocent man may be treated with the severity of a criminal, may be deprived of his personal liberty, loaded with Irons, and finally enslaved.

We represent to your honourable Assembly as evincing the propriety of visitants to the Jail, a consequence, which occasionally results, in cases of poor females, committed by the watch or otherwise, for petty quarrels and disorders of the night. It has repeatedly happened that individuals of this class, committed, perhaps, regularly, but sometimes unjustly, have, altho' no bill has been found against them by the Grand Jury, been from the carelessness of the Sheriff, detained in Prison, from Court to Court, without even the semblance of criminality: as this place cannot be considered corrective of morals, there is no human reason can be assigned for this agression upon the rights of these poor people. The propriety of ascertaining that a regular, an ample and wholesome supply of provisions is granted to that class of prisoners which comes under the denomination of Criminals, calls loudly for the establishment of visitants to the Jail. The sum allowed by the County for this purpose is certainly efficient, if properly directed, but at present, the supply, so far as it has fallen beneath our notice, appear to possess neither of the requesites specified. Three course [*sic*] Biscuits, and an inconsiderable quantity of pease, boiled with the offals of the Butcheries, not unfrequently in a state truly disgusting, is the daily allowance to each Criminal prisoner. The pease from the specimens we have seen, are an open imposition; decayed and worm eaten, unsubstantial and unwholesome.

When it is considered, that in the four rooms occupied by the Prisoners the area of which, taking them collectively amounts not to a square of—feet, upward of—prisoners [3] have during the heats of last Summer, been crouded: it almost exceeds belief, how, with such diet, and with but little attention to cleanliness, decease [*sic*] should have been excluded from the Prison:—The elevated position of the Jail, and the purity of the water, appear to have operated as preventive of those disorders, which might not merely have proven prejudicial to the confined, but extended their baleful influence throughout this populous City.

Of these specifications some perhaps might with propriety have been directed to the attention of a Grand Jury; but the little effect which has resulted from our statements to that Body, induce us to direct our views to a source from which imanates these powers, by the abuse of which various evils have arisen.

We make these general representations, addressing ourselves not less to the feelings than to the understanding of the honorable assembly. We address ourselves with the freedom of men, who, tho' unfortunate, are yet men, divested neither of the priviledge of complaint, nor of those feelings which ought to incite us to repress abuses, which under our Eye, have fallen heavily upon the unfortunate; which have proven partially grievous to ourselves; but which if not remedied, may yet more deeply affect the

[3] Blanks are in original.

peace of those unfortunate men, who shall hereafter be consigned to this miserable place.

Signed

Alex White
Jno. A. Burford
J. Colguhoun
John Dorse
Wm. Paine, Jr.
J. D. Chalabre
John Helm
John Trulock [4]

Prison of the City of Baltimore
December 1799

Copy from the original

Ninian Pinkney
Clerk of the Gov Co'

Parker Prize for Genealogy

The Maryland Historical Society reminds its members and others interested in genealogy that the closing date of the Parker competition for 1950 is December 31, 1950. All manuscripts should be typed and organized in a clear manner to facilitate use by the general public. Papers entered should deal in some degree with a Maryland family or families.

Prizes will be as follows: First Prize, $45; Second Prize, $30; Third Prize, $15.

The award of the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Prizes for Maryland Genealogies was established in 1946 and enlarged in 1948 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker as a memorial to her husband and herself. Its purpose is to encourage the gathering and compiling of accurate records of Maryland families. The income from the $2,000 endowment is devoted to cash awards for papers judged on the basis of completeness, authority and arrangement. The usual annual awards will be $30, $20, and $10, or a total of $60.00 per annum. However, since no award was made in 1948, the prize money for that year has been divided equally and added to the awards for 1949 and 1950.

Winners of the award for 1949 were announced in *Maryland History*

[4] Of those signing the petitions only three can be found in the City Directories for the years 1796-1810. They are: John Helm (1804), laborer, Pitt St., Old Town; William Paine, Jr. (1800), Pratt St.; John Truelock (1799), cabinet maker, 34 N. Gay St. In the Directory of 1799 a John D. Chalabze, grocer, Fells St., is listed. He may be the " Chalabre " of the petition. Each of the names recorded here appears in one Directory only.

By a special act of the legislature in 1799 William Paine, Jr., Alexander White and John Chalabre, all of Baltimore City, were allowed to become bankrupts. See, *Laws of Maryland, 1799* (Annapolis, n. d.), Chap. 88. John A. Burford was included in a similar act the following year, *Laws of Maryland, 1800* (Annapolis, n. d.), Chap. 44.

Notes for last May. They were as follows: First Prize, Mr. Carl Ross McKenrick for genealogy of the McKenrick family; Second Prize, Mrs. Elwood Williams for genealogy of the John W. Williams family; and Third Prize, Mr. J. Ord Cresap for recent additional material on the Cresap family.

CONTRIBUTORS

Regent of Mt. Vernon Ladies Association, MRS. BEIRNE has long been interested in various aspects of Maryland history and has contributed to the Magazine in the past. ☆ Both MR. ZORNOW and MR. CARROLL have previously contributed to the Magazine. ☆ An artist by profession, MRS. BEADENKOPF assisted her late husband, the Rev. Thomas M. Beadenkopf in his social work.